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End of 6th Round CSCE Talks Reported

LD2704152190 Moscow TASS in English 1449 GMT 27 Apr 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov]

[Text] Vienna April 27 TASS—The sixth round of the Vienna talks on confidence-building measures and security in Europe and preparations for an all-European summit has ended here.

Thirty-three European states, as well as the United States and Canada, participated in the talks.

The all-European summit is expected to sign an agreement on conventional armed forces and a document on confidence-building measures and security in Europe.

Editing in the working groups illustrated that there are prerequisites for these documents, and progress in coordinating a number of measures can be expected soon. The first texts of the would-be document have already been agreed upon.

The Soviet delegation wants confidence-building measures to comprise an annual exchange of information on the structure and location of armed forces, on supplies of new equipment and armaments and on military budgets. These should also include notification and observation of military activity, its limitation and military contacts and consultations.

These measures should cover military land, air and sea activities.

Unfortunately, several delegations object to applying confidence-building measures to naval forces, an objection that has gotten more trenchant. Their refusal to elaborate substantial confidence-building measures is being covered up with references to the need to make some political decisions concerning naval aspects at the negotiations of thirty-five.

Some delegates are not against excluding the navy from discussions at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

"It should be noted that the need to discuss the naval activity at the talks was recognised once and for all by the Madrid mandate, which nobody here is entitled to reconsider," head of the Soviet delegation, Ambassador at Large Oleg Grinevskiy told TASS.

"Questioning this issue wastes precious time in pointless discussion. Proposing that naval activities should be covered by confidence-building measures, we do not ignore Western considerations about the guarantee of sea and ocean lane safety. It is necessary to find a solution that will not threaten anybody's security," he stressed.

Lack of 'Breakthrough'

LD2704172890 Moscow TASS in English 1654 GMT 27 Apr 90

[By Vladimir Chernyshev, analyst on military affairs]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—The regular session of talks on confidence-building measures and security in Europe that ended in Vienna, did not settle many important questions.

Despite the fact that representatives of the 35 countries that signed the Helsinki Final Act have worked hard, they have not made a real breakthrough due to the unwillingness of NATO member countries to apply the spirit of stability, confidence and openness to other areas of negotiations.

Western representatives seek to limit confidence-building measures to the operation of ground forces, leaving the activities of air and naval forces unchecked.

Confidence-building measures cannot be limited to a particular military service the balance of forces consists of several components: ground, air and naval forces.

Considerable cuts in conventional weapons of ground forces and aviation, which will apparantly be agreed upon at the Vienna talks, will increase the importance of naval forces in the general balance of forces.

This may destabilise the situation in Europe. As a result, the spread of confidence-building measures to naval forces is becoming more important and urgent.

It is to be hoped that during the present interval NATO member countries will discuss the situation at the talks and address outstanding problems in a responsible way.

Western partners should abandon the former approach to stabilising measures. The European public expects the talks to result in new confidence-building measures, the realisation of which will lead to a substantial decrease in military confrontation.

Considerable political changes in Europe have created adequate opportunities for rapid progress at these talks.

Karpov Outlines Issues at 'Open Skies' Conference

PM2704133390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 90 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov report: "International 'Open Skies' Conference"]

[Text] Budapest—The flags of the 23 NATO and Warsaw Pact countries are flying over the House of the Army building in Budapest again. The international "Open Skies" conference is continuing. It was planned that an agreement would be "drawn up" by 12 May. However, as V. Karpov, USSR deputy foreign minister and head of the Soviet delegation, told journalists, there are still many unresolved "points."

For example, there is no agreement on the question: What planes should be used for the flights? The Soviet Union proposes the planes of the country whose territory is being inspected. Or take sensors. They constitute another important and major set of paragraphs under discussion in the agreement. There is a proposal to increase the list of monitoring devices on board planes:

optical instruments, electronic instruments, radar instruments, and thermal imaging instruments for night vision. So far only three out of the seven "sensors" (in four categories of instruments) have been agreed on. As a result of a compromise decision the "open skies" countries can obtain sensors from the United States, thereby achieving unformity of instruments.

Who will receive the information thus gathered? Once again, there is a broad spread of opinions. The Soviet Union believes that all countries party to the agreement have a right to use it. A common information bank should be created. The United States says that the information obtained should not be shared: It belongs to those who made the flight.

What about bases on other territories? The United States and France, for example, are opposed to overflying bases on "overseas" territories. That is a violation of countries' sovereignty, they say. But U.S. military activity is centered on precisely such bases. Can that not be taken into account?

"Yes, there are many questions, and they must all be resolved this year," V. Karpov said.

Perfilyev Cites Moscow Chemical Weapon Stance

LD2804145190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] Will the threat of chemical weapons be averted, or will they be completely destroyed? Perfilyev, first deputy head of a directorate at the USSR Foreign Ministry, spoke to Soviet and foreign journalists on this subject at a Foreign Ministry news briefing.

[Begin Perfilyev recording] Reports are coming through from Washington that incorrect information is being spread among U.S. Congress staff about the Soviet position on a question associated with drawing up a bilateral Soviet-U.S. agreement on mutual obligations before the coming into force of a multilateral convention on banning and destruction of chemical weapons. Specifically, it is claimed that, owing to a change in the Soviet position, the United States will be subject to no restrictions in continuing its binary program under the bilateral agreement. It is a matter here of the production of binary chemical weapons.

I am instructed to refute these claims, which clearly emanate from those who would like, once again, to push through the U.S. Congress a request for the continuation of the binary chemical weapons production program. There has been no change in the USSR's position, which has been set out on more than one occasion, both at meetings between ministers and at consultations between the delegations in Geneva.

We have taken as our starting point the view that an agreement on mutual obligations before the coming into force of a multilateral convention must include, in addition to a clause on the reduction of stockpiles of the USSR's and the United States' chemical weapons, a clause on the complete cessation of their production. That is our principled position. As is known, the Soviet Union halted the production of chemical weapons as far back as 1987. The United States, on the contrary, resumed their production at the end of 1987, and even started to produce a new type—binary chemical weapons. In these circumstances, it is perfectly understandable that, if one is now to agree on just reducing the stockpiles of chemical weapons, leaving aside the question of halting production, then such an agreement will not be equitable. The USSR would be engaging in chemical disarmament, while the United States would, in effect, be modernizing its arsenal by destroying old and unserviceable stocks and producing new weapons. Needless to say, we will not accept such a deal, if such it can be called. It would not be understood or supported either by the Soviet people or by the Supreme Soviet.

So the main issue at the talks is whether or not the United States will agree to halt its binary program. On this, by and large, depends whether or not there will be an agreement. [end recording]

Soviet Team Visits U.S. Missile Base

LD2904112990 Moscow TASS in English 1120 GMT 29 Apr 90

[by TASS correspondent Stanislav Lunev]

[Text] Washington April 29 TASS—A Soviet team, led by Major General Vladimir Medvedev, head of the Soviet nuclear risk reduction center, ended its visit to the United States Saturday [28 April].

A Pentagon spokesman said that in accordance with the Soviet-U.S. agreement of January 22, 1990, the Soviet team visited the Warren Air Base, Wyoming, where one of the wings of the U.S. intercontinental ballistic missiles (IBM) is located.

During their visit to the air base the Soviet observers held a trial inspection of the number of warheads on U.S. missiles. This inspection is one of the first implementations of verfication measures concerning strategic armaments, carried out in preparation for the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. treaty to cut strategic offensive weapons.

An American observer team has recently visited a Soviet air base in Uzin, Ukraine, to inspect heavy bombers.

The visit by Soviet and American observers to the two countries' military facilities, connected with strategic offensive weapons, prior to the conclusion of the treaty to reduce and limit strategic offensive weapons, testifies to growing trust between the two countries, to their firm intention to sign the treaty.

Perfilyev 27 Apr Briefing on World Issues

United Germany, European Balance

LD2704152890 Moscow TASS in English 1515 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—"The most important thing is probably to devise a military and political status for a united Germany which would not radically tip the balance" in Europe, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze was quoted today as saying in an interview with the IRISH TIMES by Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev.

Quoting the minister, Perfilyev observed that this objective "can be achieved fully if Germany becomes a militarily non-aligned state whose armed forces would have a potential sufficient only for defence purposes."

The other guarantee, the significance of which is hard to overestimate, is that the movement toward a united Germany should be combined with the efforts to create all-European security arrangements, he said.

Perfilyev pointed out that the military and political structures in Europe "were shaped not for a united Germany, but for two German states, belonging, moreover, to different alliances."

"The prospect of the German unification is an important incentive for radically reshaping the present European security arrangements, in fact, for creating them anew," he quoted Shevardnadze as saying.

"In any case, it would be a mistake to destroy the existing security systems in the course of building the German unity, without creating new ones to replace them."

On the possibility of Germany's membership in military blocs, Perfilyev quoted the minister as saying that "the membership of a united Germany in NATO is unacceptable to us, since it would mean a radical disruption of the current balance of forces in Europe."

Other solutions must be found, which would not diminish anyone's security. Such decisions are possible to achieve on the ground of reality and mutual respect for each other's interests, Perfilyev said.

Israel's 'Brutal, Criminal' Actions

LD2704171690 Moscow TASS in English 1637 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev made the following statement at a briefing here today:

"According to reports reaching here, Israeli Army units undertook an offensive against Jabaliya Palestinian refugee camp in the occupied Gaza Strip on April 26, a period of festivities marking the completion of the Moslem fast.

Tanks and combat helicopters were used in the operation under the command of Dan Shomron, the Israeli chief of general staff.

Israeli troops broke into homes and mosques, conducted house-to-house searches and made arrests.

In protest, mass Palestinian demonstrations began in Gaza. Despite the fact that the protesters were peaceful and did not use weapons, Israeli troops opened fire on the demonstrators. At least two Palestinians were killed and about one hundred wounded in action.

The Soviet Union resolutely denounces this brutal and criminal action by the Israeli military and demands the immediate cessation of repressions against the civilpan population, of systematic violations of human rights, and of humiliations of believers' religious convictions.

These actions tall with Israel's unlawful policies on the occupied Arab lands: the establishment of new unlawful settlements and the settlement of Jewish immigrants.

A firm barrier must be erected by the entire international community against these policies.

It is high time that ruling Israeli circles understand that suppression and raw force is leading their country into a blind- alley and undermining peace efforts in the region.

We once again call on Israel to listen to the voice of reason and make a real step towards peace on the basis of law and justice."

Importance of De Maziere Visit

LD2704171990 Moscow TASS in English 1703 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—The forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union by an East German Government delegation led by Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) is regarded in this country as "important to bilateral relations between the two countries and to the situation in Europe as regards German unification," Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing here today.

The visit is particularly important because the foreign ministers of the "Two Plus Four" group will meet for the first time in Bonn on May 5.

The GDR delegation arrives in Moscow on April 28, the spokesman said. Lothar de Maiziere will meet President Mikhail Gorbachev and hold tziks with Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov on April 29.

Later in the day Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will have talks with his East German counterpart Markus Meckel, and Soviet Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov will have talks with Rainer Eppelmann, the GDR's minister of disarmament and defence.

Chemical Weapons' Manufacturing

LD2704182190 Moscow TASS in English 1810 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—The Soviet Union believes that until a multilateral convention on banning

and destruction of chemical weapons goes into effect, the Soviet-American agreement on mutual obligations should include, in addition to the provision on the reduction of chemical weapons, a provision on the termination of their manufacture, said Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev at a briefing here today.

He said that rumours spread among U.S. congressmen. It is asserted that the Soviet Union's change of stand means that the United States will be unchecked in its programme to manufacture binary chemical weapons.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman noted that the Soviet Union terminated the production of chemical weapons in 1987. The United States resumed the production of chemical weapons late in 1987 and began to manufacture new types of chemical weapons, binary weapons.

If an agreement is reached to reduce chemical weapons stockpiles, leaving aside termination of chemical weapons production, the agreement will not be equal, Perfilyev said.

"The main issue at the talks is whether the United States will agree to terminate its binary programme. The agreement's conclusion depends on this," he said.

Vienna Arms Talks

LD2704190890 Moscow TASS in English 1857 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—The sixth round of the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces in Europe, that ended on Thursday, was marked by an intensive quest of solutions and compromises on the entire range of technical problems, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing here today.

He said that a marked progress was reached in coordinating definitions of tanks and armoured vehicles. Coordination of key sections of the future treaty on information exchange and verification is about to be achieved.

For the first time, the sides substantively discussed the problems of elimination and conversion of armaments reduced.

The Soviet delegation submitted a draft protocol on this matter and expressed the readiness to display samples of its armaments in operational state, as well as rendered inoperational, in May-June.

The spokesman said that coordination of the provisions regarding sites of permanent storage was an important achievement of the sixth round.

At the same time Perfilyev noted that although leaders of Warsaw Treaty and NATO member countries declared unambiguously for speeding up the talks, they are slowing down now.

One get the impression that as far as specific work goes, political impulses subside at the level of western experts in Vienna. Sometimes they go back on their own proposals.

The spokesman said that western partners assumed a wait-and-see stand regarding the formulation of the Ottawa arrangement on the reduction of Soviet and American troops outside their national boundaries in Europe.

The alternative Soviet proposal on aviation, advanced during the negotiations Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker had in Washington in April, remains unanswered.

"The Soviet Union is prepared for a constructive quest of possibilities for a speedy advance so that a treaty on conventional armed forces be concluded before the year runs out," Perfilyev said.

Soviet-U.S. Trade Accord

LD2704194190 Moscow TASS in English 1916 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—Bringing into operation a new Soviet-U.S. trade agreement will be a major step in normalising trade and economic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing here today in comment on reports from Paris that "representatives of the two countries coordinated in principle the text" of the document.

Notwithstanding the fact that a number of minor issues remain unresolved, the agreement will be prepared for signature at the Washington summit, he said.

The scope of trade and economic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States is rather inconsiderable and is far from corresponding to the two countries' economic, scientific and technical potential, Perfilyev said.

"According to our unofficial estimates, the mutual granting of the most-favoured-nation trading status by the Soviet Union and the United States, as envisaged by the agreement, may double or treble our bilateral turnover of goods and services," Perfilyev said.

He voiced hope that the signing of the trade agreement by the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States "will provide a serious political impulse to finalising work on the other components of the 'package' of Soviet-American economic accords—an agreement on mutual protection of capital investments and a taxation agreement."

"The restoration of the cold-war-disrupted mechanisms of mutually beneficial Soviet-U.S. trade and economic cooperation meets the interests not only of our two countries but also the interests of normal development of world economic processes," Perfilyev emphasised.

TASS Summary

LD2704202290 Moscow TASS in English 2005 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—The forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union by an East German Government delegation led by Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere is regarded in this country as "important to bilateral relations between

the two countries and to the situation in Europe as regards German unification," Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing here today.

The visit is particularly important because the foreign ministers of the "two plus four" group will meet for the first time in Bonn on May 5.

Bringing into operation a new Soviet-U.S. trade agreement will be a major step in normalising trade and economic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, Perfilyev said commenting on reports from Paris that "representatives of the two countries coordinated in principle the text" of the document.

Perfilyev assessed a message by West German Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and French President Francois Mitterrand to Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis as an attempt to promote a dialogue between Moscow and the Lithuanian leadership.

He stressed that there is understanding in the message of the Soviet leadership's desire to resolve the Lithuanian issue by political means.

The Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that until a multilateral convention on banning and destruction of chemical weapons goes into effect, the Soviet-American agreement on mutual obligations should include, in addition to the provision for the reduction of chemical weapons, a provision for the termination of their production, Perfilyev said.

He said that rumours about a change in the Soviet stand on the matter had recently spread among U.S. congressmen. It is asserted that the Soviet Union's change of stand means that the United States will be unchecked in its programme to manufacture binary chemical weapons.

"The main issue at the talks is whether the United States will agree to terminate its binary programme. The agreement's conclusion depends on this," he said.

The spokesman hailed the resumption of the Indo-Pakistani dialogue on the Kashmir issue, which was continued at the two countries' foreign ministers meeting in New York on April 25.

He characterised as reassuring a joint statement issued after the talks that India and Pakistan consider it necessary to avoid a military conflict and try to settle the problem peacefully.

Nikiforov 29 Apr 'Special Briefing' for Public

East European Situation

LD2904164490 Moscow TASS in English 1546 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 29 TASS—A special briefing for members of the public, on the subject "Foreign Policy Interests of the USSR and the New Realities in East Europe," was held at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's press centre today.

The current changes in East Europe, guaranteed by the perestroyka reform programme in the Soviet Union, serve the national interests of the USSR and signify an end to the period of confrontation with the West, said Aleksey Nikiforov, deputy head of the Ministry's department for the European socialist countries. "Only now can we permit ourselves to cut troops, armaments and defence spending, to concentrate attention on the really strategic areas of defence," he said.

Speaking about the negative consequences of processes in East Europe, Nikoforov drew attention to an upsurge in right-wing sentiments, rising nationalism and sometimes a sharp turn towards the West in terms of economy and politics, which not always suits the interests of these countries. He described the new realities as temporary difficulties.

"We are facing a period of adaption to new regimes, the new style of thinking. We are prepared not to allow the relapse of patronization of our neighbours," the Soviet spokesman stressed.

"It is expedient to proceed not from the party-ideological criteria, but from the national-state interests or the balance thereof," he continued.

Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the Foreign Ministry's Information Department, raised the subject of German unification. This process, he said, "is viewed by everybody as an event which will be accompanied by the signing of a variety of international treaties and agreements."

Questions of borders, the military-political status of unified Germany and possible claims should be solved and formalised in documents. The Soviet side, Gremitskikh stressed, favours a peace treaty which will mean the final peaceful settlement with Germany. He stressed the need for international legal, political and other levers to prevent a new threat of war coming from Germany.

Jewish Settlements, Japan Ties

LD2904165590 Moscow TASS in English 1601 GMT 29 Apr 90

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow April 29 TASS—Another sign of glasnost, or openness in Soviet foreign policy and diplomatic activity was the event held today for the first time at the Soviet Foreign Ministry press centre. Representatives of public organisations and unofficial associations converged on the centre to obtain first-hand information about the Soviet Union's view on international affairs, presented by the Foreign Ministry's high-ranking staffers.

Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovsky, for one, responded to the question concerning the Soviet stance

with regard to the settlement of Soviet emigrants on the occupied Arab territories, noted that the issue should be "resolved within the human rights context and in the light of the Soviet Union's international commitments."

Yuriy Reshetov, head of the Foreign Ministry's International Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights Department, noted that "not only citizens leaving the Soviet Union but also people who traditionally lived on occupied territories are entitled to human rights."

His colleague Andrey Kozyrev, head of the Foreign Ministry's International Organisations Department, recalled in turn a provision of the Geneva Convention prohibiting changes in the demographic situation on occupied territories. This norm applies not only to the settlement of Soviet emigrants, but to any other actions by the Israeli Government designed to change the situation on these occupied territories, and the case in question does not refer to "treating emigrants from the Soviet Union as a category apart."

Another issue of concern was the status of the Kuril chain of islands within the context of Soviet-Japanese relations. Deputy Minister Petrovsky stressed that the "Soviet Foreign Ministry proceeds from the need to strictly adhere to international agreements which relate to the post-war arrangements and determine that the Kuril Islands belong to the Soviet Union." At the same time he stressed that the Soviet Union was prepared to cooperate with Japan, including in the Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands.

Noting that the development of Soviet-Japanese relations is lagging behind the development of relations with other countries, the deputy minister said that dialogue is under way with Japan concerning all issues, including the conclusion of a peace treaty, but noted at the same time that the Soviet Union was concerned over the fact that in relations with Japan "dialogue for dialogue's sake" dominated.

The Soviet Union, he stressed, would like to address some specific practical steps, including towards confidence-building, especially on the areas and towards specific economic and ecological cooperation. These issues are expected to be taken up during the forthcoming trip of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to Japan.

Chernyshev Sees Changes in NATO 'Long Overdue'

LD2904185990 Moscow TASS in English 1620 GMT 29 Apr 90

[By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev]

[Text] Moscow April 29 TASS—NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner said in Coblenz, West Germany, that the North Atlantic Treaty must make changes in its "defence concept" to accommodate the current developments in Europe. A similar statement was made by John Galvin, supreme allied commander Europe. He told the newspaper FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU that the elaboration of a new strategy will be the main issue at meetings of representatives of NATO countries, primarily the meeting of the nuclear planning group in Canada, within the next six weeks.

It seems that these reports must attract close attention of the European public at large. Rethinking the strategy of the North Atlantic Treaty has long been overdue. The strategy was drafted in the cold war period, which has now become a thing of the past. Much has changed in the Warsaw Treaty as well. Along with the perestroyka programme in the Soviet Union and serious political changes in East European countries the military doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty and doctrines of its member countries have been radically transformed. So NATO is lagging behind the changing realities in political and military planes.

It seems that the "nuclear deterrent" concept should be radically changed in the first place. If the bloc leadership "has not matured" for the complete renunciation of nuclear weapons, as numerous statements by NATO official representatives indicate, then it looks appropriate to consider transition to the "minimum nuclear deterrence." If the need to deter each other remains, then let it be at the lowest possible level. In this context, the time has come to renounce the first use of nuclear weapons. It is well known that the USSR has long ago undertaken obligations to refrain from the first use of nuclear weapons.

The bloc should also unequivocally advocate transition to the principle of minimum sufficiency for the needs of defence. This principle hardly agrees with the "front-line defence" concept, which provides for a high concentration of troops and armaments of the North Atlantic Treaty on the line of contact between the two blocs. The presence in these regions of a large amount of troops and armaments, including most dangerous and destabilising weapons, cannot but cause anxiety of the other side and hardly contributes to stronger peace.

The concept of "second echelons and reserves" is also called to doubt because today even the first echelons are rolled back far into the east and the warning time of a possible surprise attack significantly increases.

Another important fact. Much is being said in the West about NATO's possible stabilising role in German affairs. But it is clear that it can play such a role only if it is overhauled and transformed into a tool of maintaining political balance and stability in Europe.

United States & Canada

U.S. Defense Secretary Cited on NATO Reform

LD3004092290 Moscow TASS in English 0849 GMT 30 Apr 90

[Text] New York April 30 TASS—The United States Administration supports the changes that Gorbachev has brought about in the Soviet Union, U.S. Secretary of Defence Richard Cheney said on Monday on the ABC TV Company's This Week With David Brinkley Programme.

Cheney spoke about the need to reform NATO and reduce the number of American troops in Western Europe.

He, however, rejected the idea of disbanding the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and a complete U.S. pull-out from Europe in the foreseeable future.

"The likelihood of a Warsaw Pact invasion of the West is very, very small today," he said.

"I still think as secretary of defence I have to be cautious and prudent," he said.

"We are a European power. We've got historical and cultural and economic and political interests there (in Europe). We want to stay engaged in Europe, and NATO is the mechanism for doing that," Cheney said.

He reiterated Washington's policy towards Lithuania, saying that it has been developed in consultation with other Western allies.

"Our policy remains unchanged, which is, we'd like to see self-determination and we'd like to see the current conflict resolved by peaceful means," he said.

Cheney Urges Cutbacks in Warplanes

LD2704090190 Moscow TASS in English 0838 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Washington April 27 TASS—U.S. Secretary of Defence Richard Cheney said the Pentagon "will cut back plans to buy six major airplanes," including the B-2 stealth bomber.

Cheney said in a statement, issued on Thursday, that the decision was taken in reaction to "changed world conditions." It took into account changes in the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, Soviet economic problems and the potential for major conflict in other regions.

The decision is the result of a "four-month review of major aircraft acquisition programmes" by the Pentagon.

The purchases of the B-2 strategic bomber, the exorbitant price of which drew severe criticism from Congress, will be subjected to the biggest cuts.

Bowing to legislators' pressure, Cheney proposes to buy 75 B-2 Stealth bombers instead of the 132 originally-planned, saving 14.4 billion dollars.

Simultaneously, the Pentagon plans to reduce the purchases of the C-17 transport airplane from 210 to 120, saving 12.6 billion dollars. It will also buy a smaller number of A-12 naval planes—620 instead of the 858 previously projected.

The defence secretary also proposed delaying the purchase of the Advanced Tactical Fighter [ATF], intended to replace the F-15 figher plane, from 1994 to 1996.

However, "the ATF force level objective remains at 750," Cheney pointed out.

He said the changes will result in a reduction of 2,410 billion dollars in the 1991 budget and a total of 34.8 billion dollars by 1997.

The statement was issued several hours before Cheney addressed the House and Senate armed services committees, which are working on proposals on the defence budget.

U.S. Media Reaction to Bush Lithuania Policy

PM2704111190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Shalnev: "G. Bush Urges Dialogue. U.S. Press on U.S. President's Decision"]

[Text] New York—The headline of the editorial that apopeared in THE NEW YORK TIMES on Wednesday read: "Bush Tells Vilnius: Hold Talks."

The headline gave the gist not only of this editorial, but also of many other commentaries in which the U.S. media have been reacting to President George Bush's decision to refrain—for the time being—from any economic measures to influence Moscow in connection with the Lithuanian events.

As for THE NEW YORK TIMES, it expressed its view in the following way: "For several days administration staffers have been suggesting that the United States will impose sanctions on the Soviet Union. Yesterday President Bush did the right thing—he did nothing. And he chose to do it at the right time... Dialogue—that is what the U.S. President is urging."

However, the paper continues, "it may be that the full meaning of the President's words will have to be conveyed to the Lithuanians the hard way. At the moment some Vilnius leaders believe they can establish their independence instantly, plunging the world into crisis, and they have little incentive to agree to a reasonable dialogue."

"Instant independence for an 'enslaved people'," THE NEW YORK TIMES goes on, "is tempting, but extremely simplistic. President Bush is acting wisely by

consistently opposing this. He urged Moscow to move along the path toward Lithuanian independence—and Mr. Gorbachev is doing that. But now Bush is saying to Lithuania: "The United States is not prepared to have a crisis in East-West relations over Lithuania; the time has come to talk with Moscow."

It would be naive, of course, to believe that the press is unanimous, although it must be said that THE NEW YORK TIMES' opinion is shared by many commentators and that it significantly reflects the mood in U.S. political circles, above all on Capitol Hill, in Congress. But unanimity is not to be found either in the press or on Capitol Hill—which is perfectly natural, considering the extremely acute problems. On the very day when Bush announced that he would refrain from sanctions, the Senate Committee on Appropriations managed to drag into a bill a provision on allocating $10 million for the purpose—I quote THE WASHINGTON POST—of "acquiring and equipping an embassy in Lithuania if the United States officially recognizes its independence." The Senate committee is not the whole Senate, of course, and in all likelihood this amendment will fail in the end, but the fact that it exists is indicative.

Also indicative was an article by observer Patrick Buchanan, published on Wednesday in the NEW YORK POST and a number of other U.S. papers and containing very fierce attacks on the White House. "The conduct of the U.S. Government," he writes, "is not just inexplicable, but disgraceful... Why are we pandering to Mikhail Gorbachev? Vilnius has not asked for tanks or troops; the only thing it has asked the United States, the light of freedom, to do is to be with it at this terrible time, a time when Vilnius has stood up for its freedom."

Extreme views of the Lithuanian situation, which are not shared by very many politicians and are obviously not supported by the majority of Americans, who, as Buchanan himself admits, "prefer Gorbachev to Lithuania." But there is another stance, which coincides neither with that expressed in THE NEW YORK TIMES editorial nor that propagandized by Buchanan. This stance is formulated in an article published on Wednesday by THE WASHINGTON POST: "The danger of the current muted U.S. reaction (to the Lithuanian events—A. Shalnev) is that the reaction might be mistaken for compliance. And this could encourage the Soviets to go even further."

It is not impossible that that is why Bush and his advisers furnished their decision to refrain with the following proviso: The administration, as THE WALL STREET JOURNAL writes, could review its position at any moment and introduce sanctions.

Ryzhkov Discusses Cooperation With IBM Official

LD2804095190 Moscow TASS in English 0947 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov received an IBM vice-president, Mr. Armstrong, in the Kremlin.

The U.S. businessman favours more extensive cooperation with Soviet organisations in developing computer facilities and their wide use in the Soviet economy, primarily in education, science and culture.

Ryzhkov praised the American firm's plans, noting the high social importance of the project.

Following a discussion, the sides agreed to develop possible variants of such cooperation on a long-term and mutually advantageous basis.

PRAVDA Editor Frolov Visits California

Addresses Audience in Los Angeles

PM2604145190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Apr 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS and special correspondents V. Gan, S. Kolesnikov, A. Sidorin dispatch: "Seeking Answers and Solutions"]

[Text] Los Angeles, 24 Apr—Where is mankind heading in our times, full of hopes and fears, in an age of ecological and other global threats and problems? What is humane and democratic socialism? What prospects are opened up by Soviet-U.S. cooperation in the humanitarian sphere?

A discussion in the Californian "Town Hall"—a social organization that brings together representatives of the Los Angeles business world, politicians, and cultural workers—centered on these and other questions. They had gathered to meet I.T. Frolov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and PRAVDA chief editor, who spoke to them on the subject of "Perestroyka and Humanism."

Current alarm about the future forces us to seek answers and solutions and undertake vigorous action in the name of man and mankind. And one of the responses to the appeal of the times, the speaker stressed, is the new political thinking and the policy of perestroyka and glasnost in the Soviet Union. Today we have a different understanding of our country's role in the context of world history and in the tumultuous and complex processes that are taking place in the world. And relations between the two great powers—the USSR and the United States—have a special place in this context. USSR President M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the United States in May will be an important landmark in the humanitarianization of the whole system of international relations.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary noted the urgency of the problem of man and humanism which has come to the fore during perestroyka. Humane and democratic socialism primarily means a society that understands the integrity of civilization and nature and aspires to a new synthesis of man, science, and humanism and the overcoming of the restrictions imposed by existing socioeconomic ideological and moral values.

Numerous questions from the American audience were devoted to this subject. The subject of the prevailing situation in Lithuania was also broached. I.T. Frolov noted that the Soviet leadership is giving preference to political means of resolving this problem.

Discussions were held in the editorial office of the LOS ANGELES TIMES. The PRAVDA chief editor also met with a group of American newspaper publishers.

'Sharp' Arguments in San Francisco

PM2704082990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Apr 90 Second Edition p 4

[Dispatch by special correspondent V. Gan and TASS correspondents S. Kolesnikov and A. Sidorin: "Arguments Were Acute"]

[Text] San Francisco, 25 Apr—The arguments were sharp, and various views were expressed. But everyone agreed on one thing—oceans may separate the continents, but they can and should unite people. Everybody in different parts of the world is equally concerned about the problems of mankind's survival in the nuclear age, ecological threats, and the other universal tasks facing mankind. These questions loom large in the program for Soviet-U.S. exchanges.

This was reaffirmed by the meeting between I.T. Frolov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chief editor of PRAVDA, and the U.S. public in San Francisco within the framework of the program implemented by the Esalen Institute. In particular, the problems of cooperation between U.S. scientists and the Soviet Center for Human Sciences, the prospects for cooperation on scientific, technical, and humanitarian questions, and the prospects for developing comprehensive research projects on people and mankind were discussed.

Soviet Lawyers Arrive in U.S. for Study Tour

LD2704080990 Moscow TASS in English 0608 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Washington April 27 TASS—A group of Soviet lawyers has arrived in the United States to study the American legal system. They will attend briefings at the National Legal College in Reno, Nevada, for seven days, and will get acquainted with the judicial procedures at Nevada's Supreme Court.

The Soviet delegation will visit Washington from April 28 to May 3 where it will meet member of the U.S. Supreme Court Antonin Scalia and members of U.S. Court of Appeal and members of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary and the American Bar Association.

Deputy Director of the United States Information Agency for Educational and Cultural Programmes William Glade said that the visit of Soviet lawyers to the United States is taking place at a time of important changes in the Soviet Union, when Soviet experts are searching for ways to reform the Soviet judicial and political systems.

USIA spokesman Jane Taylor told TASS Soviet and American lawyers would continue these useful exchanges.

Soviet Psychiatrists Urged to 'Put Off' Visit

LD2704205390 Moscow TASS in English 1831 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—When the U.S. authorities suggested that the reply visit by a delegation of Soviet psychiatrists to the United States be put off indefinitely, they aimed to curtail American-Soviet humanitarian cooperation, said Yuriy Reshetov, chief of International Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights Directorate of the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

Reshetov told a briefing here today that the visit was to begin on April 28. All conditions for the visit had been discussed in Washington well in advance.

The delegation was to visit Chicago, California and New York. It was to participate in an annual convention of the American Psychiatric Association and to attend the hearings at the U.S. Congress.

The list of members of the delegation was fully endorsed by the U.S. side, Reshetov said.

But on Thursday [26 April] the American authorities suggested that the visit be put off and advanced a number of far-fetched justifications. At one point they stated that the delegation includes persons involved in "psychiatric abuse".

The Foreign Ministry representative said that when the trip by a delegation of American psychiatrists to the Soviet Union was being prepared, the Soviet side did not attach any conditions and made no attempts to censor the delegation's membership.

The U.S. delegation included a British subject and persons who in the past were highly critical of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet side permitted all of them to visit the USSR and there was an extremely open atmosphere during the visit.

American psychiatrists had an opportunity to visit any facility, even in zones closed to foreigners, and to meet with any patient.

"We get the impression that at present Americans believe that the reply visit will be disadvantageous to them," Reshetov said. "Apparently, they fear the shortcomings of American psychiatry may come to light. Dialogue in this area would be on a truly equal basis, and some might not like it," Reshetov said.

Resignation of U.S. Delegate Rowny Noted

LD2604222890 Moscow TASS in English 2033 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Washington April 27 TASS—The resignation of Edward Rowny, chief U.S. delegate at the Soviet-U.S. talks at limiting and reducing strategic arms was announced here on Thursday.

President George Bush accepted his resignation, expressing "deep regret" and highly appreciating his professional and human qualities.

According to a report by the ASSOCIATED PRESS news agency, the resignation was caused by differences that arose inside the administration during the elaboration of a Soviet-U.S. agreement on cuts in strategic weapons.

Rowny will leave his post on June 30. Subsequently he will become a senior associate at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies and a visiting professor at George Washington University.

China

CPC General Secretary Jiang Zemin Interviewed

PM2904190590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Apr 90 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, by Vsevolod Ovchinnikov: "Interview at Zhongnanhai"—first 11 paragraphs are carried as introduction; a boxed note in boldface on page 1 reads: "Just before May Day Comrade Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, received at Zhongnanhai PRAVDA's political observer Vsevolod Ovchinnikov, who is in China as head of a delegation from the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, and granted him an interview meant exclusively for our newspaper"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] In 1985 Jiang Zemin became mayor of Shanghai and 2 years later first secretary of Shanghai City CPC Committee. In June 1989 he was elected general secretary of the CPC Central Committee and member of the Politburo Standing Committee.

"My first scientific work was devoted to world power industry development trends and resource saving methods," Jiang Zemin smiled. "But as you can see my working career has gone beyond that area. I have worked in both the light and heavy industries, I have directed a plant and an institute, I have been a minister and a city committee secretary.

"The first year in my present post," the general secretary of the CPC Central Committee concluded, "was a difficult one in China, as it was in the Soviet Union. But when we talk about the fate of socialism, we should not forget that the replacement of one social system by another takes a long time. The period since the first bourgeois revolutions is measured not in years but in centuries. However, the relics of feudalism have still not disappeared even now. It is 72 years since the October Revolution gave birth to the world's first socialist state. Recently we marked the PRC's 40th anniversary. Despite all the difficulties and trials, our peoples are loyal to the historic choices they made in 1917 and 1949. Those who want to wipe socialism from the face of the earth are rejoicing prematurely. He who laughs last, laughs longest. While the peoples of our two countries hold the banner of socialism in their hands they are invincible."

The time came to move on to the official part of the interview. The general secretary of the CPC Central Committee answers PRAVDA's questions.

[Ovchinnikov] In your view, how have Sino-Soviet relations developed in the year since their normalization? How has this event influenced the general course of world development?

[Zemin] The historic meeting between Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Gorbachev took place in May last year. It gave an opportunity to close the past and open the future in the history of Sino-Soviet relations. In the past year, thanks to joint efforts, relations between our states in various spheres have developed, and contacts and ties have taken place between our countries' leaders. Premier Li Peng's official visit to the USSR ended successfully just recently. Exchanges and cooperation between the two countries in the political, economic, scientific, technical, and other spheres have enjoyed new development. It may be said that since the Sino-Soviet summit the sides have already taken a gratifying step toward the establishment of good-neighborly and friendly relations of a new type.

The past year's events have shown with ever increasing clarity that China and the Soviet Union—two great neighboring socialist states—need to establish and develop long-term, stable, good-neighborly, and friendly relations between themselves. This meets the fundamental interests of our countries' peoples as well as the interests of protecting peace and stability in Asia and the Pacific and throughout the world. But the achievement of this needs strict observance of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. Relations between states perhaps do not always develop along an even and calm path. As is well known, there have been certain zigzags on the path of the development of Sino-Soviet relations. Our two countries still have differences of position or views on certain questions. That is perfectly natural because the actual situation in our two countries is not the same. So long as both our states adhere firmly to the five principles of peaceful coexistence and are guided by the spirit of the Chinese-Soviet Joint Communique, prospects for the development of Chinese-Soviet relations will be optimistic.

In the past year the normalization of Chinese-Soviet relations has already had a positive influence on the

international situation. I believe that in time this influence will be even deeper and more effective. The long abnormal state of relations between China and the Soviet Union has ended. Good-neighborly, friendly relations of a new type have been established between them. This is undoubtedly conducive to establishing the new international political and economic order on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and also helps to preserve peace and stability in Asia and the Pacific and throughout the world.

[Ovchinnikov] In your view, what role can interparty ties between the CPC and the CPSU play in the work of reforms and the renewal of socialism in our countries? In what spheres is the exchange of experience between Chinese and Soviet Communists useful despite the different conditions and actual practice of socialist building in the two countries?

[Zemin] In the past year the CPC and the CPSU have had contacts and ties in accordance with the principles of independence, autonomy, mutual respect, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs. Despite differences of history, natural conditions, the social sphere, and specific tasks, and even though we do not have entirely identical viewpoints on many questions, the CPC and CPSU do have quite a lot of identical or similar features regarding the fulfillment of each one's historical mission. The CPC and CPSU are major political parties. They were both created by great Marxists. They have an illustrious history of revolutionary struggle and a wealth of practical experience. They both want to improve relations further still and to strengthen the friendship between our peoples. Reform and perestroyka are under way in both countries now and quite a few new and similar problems are being encountered in these processes. Both parties have made and continue to make a positive contribution to the cause of protecting peace throughout the world. The mutual exchange and study of experience between the CPC and CPSU are highly useful to both sides and will play a positive role in the reform and in developing the cause of socialism in the two countries. We were pleased to see that these ties are strengthening as relations between the two states develop. We hope that this will continue.

[Ovchinnikov] What are the characteristic features of the present period from the viewpoint of the CPC's role and tasks in Chinese society?

[Zemin] The basic line elaborated at the 13th CPC Congress characterized accurately and clearly the party's role and task at the contemporary stage, which are: To lead and unite China's multinational people in the struggle to transform China into a mighty, democratic, and civilized modern socialist state while focusing attention on economic building, adhering firmly to the four basic principles and the policy of reforms and openness, and developing a spirit of reliance on our own strengths and a sense of determination and selflessness. Implementing socialist modernization in such a vast oriental country as China with its huge population, its backward economy, and its cultural heritage is a great but heavy and difficult task. To accomplish this task we need a nucleus of leaders capable of integrating and uniting our people, numbering 1,100 million. That nucleus is the CPC. Without such a nucleus there can be no victory of the socialist cause.

At the same time we have also learned that our era is no longer what it was in the past, and it is necessary to improve the party leadership in light of the new situation, new tasks, and new historical conditions. At the present moment certain reforms and quests are under way here. Measures are being adopted, such as the improvement of the system of multiparty cooperation under the CPC's leadership and of political consultations, a demarcation between the functions of party and state organs, the improvement of the system of meetings of people's representatives, the improvement of socialist democracy and legality, the establishment and improvement of the decisionmaking process and the exercise of control on a democratic basis, the strengthening of ties with the people's masses, and the intensification of building the party itself. Practice shows that such measures help to strengthen the party leadership.

[Ovchinnikov] One of my colleagues had an audience with the pope and asked him: Is it difficult being the pope? It is difficult but, with God's help, it is possible, he replied. Comrade Jiang Zemin, how would you answer the question: Is it difficult being general secretary of the world's largest political party and leader of the world's largest nation?

[Zemin] I would probably also say that it is difficult but that with God's help the difficulties can be overcome. The 'God' that I speak of here is none other than the Chinese people. Addressing the Seventh CPC Congress 45 years ago, Comrade Mao Zedong recounted the fable "Yu Gong Moved Mountains." Yu Gong, who never ceased trying to uproot mountains, touched God's heart by his doggedness so God sent his saints down to earth to move two large mountains—Taihangshang and Wanwushang. Comrade Mao Zedong then said that the Chinese people are oppressed by two great mountains—imperialism and feudalism. But if Communists work tirelessly they will rouse the people's masses. And when the people's masses rise up those two mountains will undoubtedly be moved. That is what happened. Four years later the Chinese were victorious. Now the Chinese people, seeking to modernize their country, have many difficulties. But if we rely on the people's masses and fully reveal their activity and creative initiative, then no difficulties can stop our forward movement. At the 13th convocation of the recent Sixth CPC Central Committee Plenum, a decision was adopted on strengthening the party's ties with the people's masses. It is aimed precisely at activating that 'God' in the guise of the people's masses so as to wage the difficult and selfless struggle together by joint efforts, and to promote further still the cause of building socialism with specific Chinese features. I am full of confidence on this score.

[Ovchinnikov] Tomorrow is May Day. What would you like to say to the Soviet people on the eve of this holiday? This year the first ever PRAVDA festival is being held in the Soviet Union. What is your wish to readers and staffers of the Soviet Communists' newspaper?

[Zemin] May Day is the holiday of solidarity of working people of the whole world. On the eve of this holiday I would like to wholeheartedly convey my congratulations to the Soviet people and wish them peace and prosperity. The Soviet people are a great people who, under Lenin's leadership, created the world's first socialist state and began a new era in mankind's history. I sincerely wish the Soviet people even greater successes in socialist building under the CPSU's leadership.

PRAVDA is the organ of the CPSU Central Committee, it has a wide readership in the USSR and is also an influential newspaper of world standing. During my work experience in the Soviet Union I often read your newspaper. My wish is that PRAVDA gets better and better and that it provides an increasingly fuller coverage of the process of socialist building and reforms in China, thus contributing to the cause of strengthening the friendship of our peoples. I should like to use this opportunity to send PRAVDA readers my good wishes and holiday greetings.

Li Peng Sends Ryzhkov Greetings From Aircraft

LD2704180490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1734 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow, 27 Apr (TASS)—Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, has expressed satisfaction with the results of his official visit to the USSR in a telegram which he has sent from on board his plane, while leaving the territory of the Soviet Union, to Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Li Peng expressed gratitude for the successful completion of the visit, in the course of which "profound talks were held" with President Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders, and documents on the development of bilateral cooperation were signed. "During our stay in the Soviet Union," the telegram says, "we were surrounded by cordial hospitality and experienced the kind feelings of friendship of the Soviet people toward the Chinese people, which has made a profound impression on us".

Further Reportage, Commentary on Li Peng Visit

Official Visit to Moscow Reveiwed

OW2804150790 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Chinese Premier Li Peng and his wife paid an official visit to the Soviet Union from 23 to 26 April at the invitation of the Soviet Government. Some Chinese officials, including Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, accompanied him on the visit.

During the visit, the distinguished Chinese guests held meetings and exchanged conversations with Soviet President Gorbachev. The Chinese premier also visited the USSR Supreme Soviet and met Chairman Lukyanov. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, also held talks with Premier Li Peng.

The Soviet and Chinese leaders thoroughly exchanged views on Soviet-Chinese relations and expressed their satisfaction with the relations and cooperation between the two sides in the political, economic, trade, scientific, and technological fields and with the vigorous development of bilateral relations since the normalization of relations. Both sides stood for firmly adhering to the Sino-Soviet joint communique of 18 May 1989 to further consolidate Sino- Soviet friendly and good-neighborly relations. The two sides reiterated that they would continue to hold talks on rational settlement of boundary issues in accordance with the principles set in the Soviet-Chinese joint communique. They expressed satisfaction with the progress made in the talks on reducing military strength in the Soviet-Chinese border areas and enhancing mutual trust in the military field.

The following documents were signed after the talks: an agreement between the Soviet Union and China on a long-term cooperation and development program covering the economy, science, and technology; an agreement between the Soviet and Chinese Governments on cooperation in the peaceful use and study of space; an agreement between the Soviet and Chinese Governments on mutual reduction of military forces in border areas and enhancing trust in the military field; and others.

The Soviet and Chinese leaders briefed each other on the situation in their respective countries and pointed out that both countries are carrying out reforms and seeking the path of socialist development in the light of their own specific conditions. At the same time, the two sides emphatically pointed out that they would strictly adhere to the principles of mutual noninterference in each other's internal affairs and respect the choices made by their peoples.

The leaders of the two countries exchanged views on international issues of common concern. The two sides also pointed out the great significance of the progress made in disarmament and positively appraised the steps taken by various countries in disarmament and relaxing military confrontation. The Chinese side welcomed the progress of the Soviet-U.S. disarmament talks. Both sides pledged to make efforts to promote a just, rational, and complete political settlement of the Cambodian issue and expressed their appreciation and support for the United Nations in playing a positive role in this regard. Both sides expressed support for dialogue between North and South Korea and said they would, as always, assist in relaxing and stabilizing the situation on the Korean peninsula and in creating the necessary conditions for its peaceful reunification.

The two sides unanimously believed that exchanges of views on questions concerning Soviet-Chinese relations and urgent international issues of common interest were useful. Both sides were satisfied with the results of the visit.

Soviet Visit Termed "Success"

OW2704112590 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Listeners and friends: Premier Li Peng of the Chinese State Council said that his visit to the Soviet Union was a success. The head of the Chinese Government held talks with Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. He met with President Gorbachev and Chairman Lukyanov of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The foreign ministers and other officials of the two countries also held consultations. The following report was filed by station diplomatic reporter Sterov:

During the visit, Premier Li Peng signed a number of extremely important documents. Indeed, this alone shows that his visit was a success. The documents here refer first to a comprehensive plan for economic, scientific, and technological cooperation through the year 2000. On this plan, Li Peng pointed out:

[Begin recording] China and the Soviet Union are neighboring countries, and I think our economies complement each other considerably. In other words, China has its own strong points and so does the Soviet Union. This is why the two countries can complement each other economically. [end recording]

This is true. Soviet and Chinese economists have mentioned this more than once. This has considerably promoted trade between the two countries in their border areas. Vigorous efforts are now being made to promote this experiment. [Words indistinct] there must be a corresponding political climate. The common border which stretches 7,000 km has a tremendous influence in this regard.

Premier Li Peng also signed an agreement on guiding principles for reducing military forces in border areas and strengthening mutual trust in the military field. This is an important result of the visit. It should be pointed out that at the meetings on military and political issues, a consensus was reached on 90 percent of the boundary line. The Soviet Union and China also have similar [jinsi di] views on some other issues.

Some reporters asked Li Peng: Does the unstable situation in some southern and eastern areas of the Soviet Union affect China?

Li Peng said he believes that the situation in the Soviet Union will become stable and that the Soviet Union will be able to solve its own problems.

Another question raised was: What is the state of relations between the CPSU and the CPC?

[Begin recording] The CPC and the CPSU normalized their relations when Comrade Gorbachev visited China last year. We maintain relations with many parties—many communist parties, social democratic parties, and democratic parties—in the world. This is nothing very special. [end recording]

At a press conference, Li Peng said that the main aim of his visit was to continue to open up a future for Soviet-Chinese relations. If this was his aim, he did achieve it during his visit.

Soviet Historian Comments on Visit

LD2704173990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0430 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Interview with Yevgeniy Bazhanov, doctor of history, by unidentified report in the radio studio; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Today, having completed his four-day official visit to the USSR, Li Peng, member of the Standing Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and premier of the State Council, returned to Beijing. He described his visit to the Soviet Union as a very successful one and stated that the Chinese side is content with its results. Yevgeniy Bazhanov, doctor of history, is in the studio next to me. He is the author of a number of articles on China published in the latest issues of NOVOYE VREMYA Magazine. And my question to Yevgeniy Petrovich is about his impressions of Li Peng's visit to the Soviet Union. How would you comment on it?

[Bazhanov] I am mainly impressed by the fact that relations between the Soviet Union and China made a very big step forward in the course of last year. After all, relations between the USSR and China were normalized in May 1989 in the course of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to China. Before that, for more than 20 years, we were in a state of confrontation with China. Confrontation, which in strategic, political, and economic aspects took a toll on our interests. Instead of trading with our great neighbor we were spending billions on the erection of fortifications on the Soviet-Chinese border. Now all this seems to be remotely in the past.

[Reporter] And what was already done in the course of this visit?

[Bazhanov] Well, first of all, an exchange of opinions of the leaders of two countries on a wide range of questions took place and this alone is very important. Besides, a number of prominent documents were signed. First of all, these are documents concerning cooperation between the USSR and China: A long-term program of development of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation; it is an agreement on cooperation in space exploration. Then, China has agreed to give prominent credit to the USSR for the delivery of consumer goods....

[Reporter interrupting] ...to our country, is it?

[Bazhanov] Yes, to our country. And the Soviet Union in its turn agreed in principle to construct a Nuclear Electric Power Station in China on credit.

[Reporter] So, are there any unsettled questions left in relations between our countries?

[Bazhanov] Yes. There are two issues on the agenda. First, is the question about the border. The Soviet-Chinese border is very extensive, more than 7000 km. Negotiations on the signing of a new border treaty are being held now. An agreement on 90 percent of the border length has already been achieved. A comparatively small portion, the remaining 10 percent, is left for discussion. And finally, the second issue is a question about mutual reduction of armed forces and measures on trust in the military sphere on the Soviet-Chinese border. In the course of Comrade Li Peng's visit to the USSR an agreement on guiding principles of solving these problems has been signed. The task now is to reduce Soviet and Chinese border troops to the minimum, and it looks like eventually a question about a complete demilitarization of the border between two neighboring empires will be raised.

[Reporter] We remember what happened last year on the Chinese square of Tiananmen, events which are called a counterrevolutionary mutiny in Beijing; a democracy defending movement in the West. We know about the campaign against bourgeois liberalism now in China. Are there any ideological differences between our countries, between leadership of our countries? If yes, what are they?

[Bazhanov] Well, you know differences between the USSR and China certainly exist, certain differences in approaching reforms, ways and means of improving the socialist system, some differences in approaching world problems. But, first of all, I would not dramatize it. And the main thing is that differences exist and always will between two separate, sovereign, and independent countries, all the more so because the USSR and China are so big. The main thing here is to provide the guarantees that these differences will not hamper fruitful neighborly cooperation between the USSR and China. And I think such guarantees have been created. Last year, our leaders during Comrade Gorbachev's visit to China agreed that relations between the USSR and China will be based on the generally accepted principles of peaceful existence, the essence of which is not to intefere with each other's affairs, not to dictate to one another, not to consider one's own views correct and the partner's views wrong, and to respect each other's positions, opinions, and interests. And Comrade Li Peng's visit to the USSR proved that these principles remain the basis of our relations, and they let us look on the future of relations between the USSR and China with great optimism.

[Reporter] Yevgeniy Petrovich, thank you for an interesting conversation.

Troop Reduction Agreement With PRC Viewed

OW2704050890 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Nikolayev commentary]

[Text] We have reported the signing of the Sino-Soviet agreement on mutual reduction of military forces in the Sino-Soviet border areas and the guiding principles for enhancing trust in the military field during Chinese Premier Li Peng's visit in the USSR. The following is a commentary by Nikolayev, a commentator of this station, in this connection:

It goes without saying that peace will have been more consolidated with each and every disarmament step taken today. If [words indistinct] countries had taken the same measures in the past, then the road to disarmament would have been even broader.

Europe is a vivid example. Because of the hard work exerted by various countries there, the pace of disarmament proceeded rapidly.

There is yet to be similar multilateral cooperation in Asia, even though the idea is there. I think Sino-Soviet cooperation in enhancing the atmosphere of goodneighborliness provides a precious example for realizing this idea.

The Sino-Soviet agreement on mutual reduction of military forces in the border areas and the guiding principles for enhancing trust in the military field has provided the legal basis for the endeavor in this direction. The two countries have now taken the initiative in this respect in the Asia-Pacific region. After the normalization of relations, both the Soviet Union and China have been dedicating their efforts to making the region more peaceful; and the easing of the situation there has gradually reduced the importance of forming a large military bloc [words indistinct].

I think it has been time and again proved that the new Sino-Soviet relations have facilitated improvement in the international situation. Although our two countries are upholding their independent policies in accordance with their own views, we can see that the Soviet and Chinese stands on contemporary international issues are similar, or even identical. In short, the policies of the two countries show that they know peace and development are the main issues today.

We can conclude, therefore, that the vibrant developments in the USSR and China, and the goodneighborliness and cooperation between them are in the interest of other countries, and they are important factors contributing to the political stability of the world. The agreement on mutual reduction of military forces in the Sino-Soviet border areas and guiding principles of enhancing trust in the military field play an important role in consolidating the security of Asia and the Pacific region; and they are another new step toward easing the tension in the region.

Moiseyev Receives PRC Chief of Staff Xu Xin

PM2704115090 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Apr 90 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Friendly Talk"]

[Text] Colonel General Xu Xin, deputy chief of the Chinese People's Liberation Army General Staff, who is in the Soviet Union as a member of the Chinese Government delegation headed by PRC State Council Premier Li Peng, was received 24 April by Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister. A friendly talk took place on questions of mutual interest.

Nishanov Has Talk With Xinjian-Uygur Leader

PM2604150390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In a Warm Atmosphere"]

[Text] In the Kremlin 24 April R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, received Tomur Dawamat, chairman of the People's Government of the PRC's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, who is in Moscow with the delegation headed by Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council. During the talks the sides exchanged opinions on questions of the further development of Soviet-Chinese relations, and special emphasis was placed on the importance of broadening and deepening ties between the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region and the Soviet Central Asian republics bordering it. The talks were held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

RSFSR's Gorshkov Receives PRC Trade Group

PM2704102490 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Apr 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Relations Are Developing"]

[Text] L.A. Gorshkov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, received a delegation from the PRC Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade headed by Ye Linyun.

In their conversation questions of Soviet-Chinese economic and trade relations were discussed. The main attention was devoted to the participation of Soviet enterprises and organizations in the Harbin Trade and Economic Exhibition Fair for the USSR and the Countries of East Europe, which will take place from 6 through 15 June of this year.

In the fair, more than 40 Chinese provinces and cities will present various goods of more than 1,000 brands, including articles produced by the machine building complex and light industry, construction materials, consumer electrical goods, medical supplies, and sports and other goods.

Sun Min, trade adviser at the PRC Embassy in the USSR, and representatives of USSR and RSFSR ministries and departments took part in the meeting.

Beijing Conference Marks Lenin Anniversary

PM2704093790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Apr 90 Second Edition p 7

[Item from roundup of reports by PRAVDA own correspondent and TASS for 21 April under the rubric "Marking Anniversary" and the general heading "Dedicated to Famous Date": "Beijing"]

[Text] Only by steadily improving and developing the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism can socialism be filled with great vital force and new victories won. This was stated by the participants in a scientific-theoretical conference held in Beijing to coincide with the 120th anniversary of V.I. Lenin's birth.

As the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO writes, the conference has been organized by the Chinese society of scientific socialism and a number of the country's other scientific establishments and organizations.

Lenin's example of adherence to Marxist principles, Jiang Liu, vice president of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, stressed in a speech at the conference, has deep significance for us in the struggle against mistaken ideological trends and the "peaceful regeneration" of socialism in the PRC.

On the threshold of the portentous anniversary the CPC Central Committee adopted a decision to accelerate publication of the new Complete Works of V.I. Lenin in Chinese and complete the publication of all 60 volumes before the end of the year.

Northeast Asia

Situation Reportedly Remains Calm in Ulaanbaatar

LD2704140190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1148 GMT 27 Apr 90

[By TASS correspondents Kim Boldokhonov and Dugar Sanzhiev]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 27 Apr (TASS)—Toward evening, the situation on Sukhe-Bator Square has not gotten any worse. People are assembling in groups and ardently discussing the situation in the country. Here and there, the discussion divides the participants into diametrically opposed points of view. Some, the majority, elderly people, see the country's way out of the crisis as lying in highly productive creative labor and not in rallies at which one has learned to say a lot and to set ultimatums. Others, and mainly young people, are standing up for radical measures to renew society.

The participants in the demonstration, the curious, ask many questions of the soldiers and officers on duty today around Government House. In particular, "Do the

fighters intend to use weapons?", "Who is the military cordon protecting, and from whom?" The work day has just ended. People returning home after work approach the central square and leave. Leaders of the Mongolian Democratic Union [MDU], according to informed sources, are holding consultations in order to determine further actions.

The day which began stormily in the central square of the Mongolian capital is ending calmly. At sunset, Sukhe-Bator Square is empty. Despite the promise of the MDU and the Mongolian Democratic Party to assemble a new demonstration in the evening, the inhabitants of the city are resting after the work week just ended. Militia units are still at Government House.

Observer on Japan's Reaction to Kuril Issue

LD2804170190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1155 GMT 28 Apr 90

[By Askold Biryukov, TASS political observer]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Apr (TASS)—The statement by the Soviet president at the meeting with the "Uralmash" collective association in Sverdlovsk, that on the question of the Kuril Islands, the USSR will stand on the position of recognizing post-war realities, including the inviolability of borders, has been met in the official Tokyo circles with clear irritation. (Taydzo Watanabe), an official representative of the Foreign Ministry, alleges that this statement "has its roots in the old rather than in the new thinking, while both countries should seriously ponder a radical improvement in their relations". Another foreign ministry representative evaluated the Soviet leader's statement as "intended for internal consumption in light of difficulties which he is confronting at home".

Such an irritated reaction from the Japanese foreign policy department cannot but give rise to surprise, because the position of the Soviet Union on this question is well known to the Japanese side and remains immutable. As far as the new political thinking is concerned, in Tokyo they consider for some reason that invariably it is the Soviet Union which should exclusively demonstrate it, although it must be clear to every unbiased person that if it is a question of bilateral relations, then it is both sides which should demonstrate it in their actions.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman remarked that today both our countries should seriously think about radically improving Soviet-Japanese relations. However, as the whole approach by the Japanese side demonstrates, in Tokyo they are convinced that once again, for some reason, the Soviet Union exclusively should be interested in such a radical improvement of relations, although, obviously, both sides should be interested in this. Judging, however, by the reaction of the Japanese Foreign Ministry, by its manifestly unhealthy reaction to statements differing from its line on this account by realistically thinking Japanese figures, including of the right-wing camp, this department does not intend to retreat from its position by one iota, demonstrating precisely the very "old thinking" of which it is trying to accuse Moscow.

However, regarding the assertion by the Japanese spokesman that the Soviet leader's statement is supposedly "meant for internal consumption", I would like to remind the Japanese side of the simple truth which it in no way wishes to take on board. The very question regarding the Kuril Islands which was heard in the audience of a major working collective in the Soviet Union reflected the growing concern of Soviet people in connection with the obstinately presented Japanese territorial claims to the USSR. It showed that, despite the fact that in the Soviet Union such a campaign is not being carried out on a national scale by the official authorities, as in Japan, Soviet public opinion, especially in the regions of Siberia and the Far East, where the "charms" of the Japanese intervention have not yet been forgotten, considers Tokyo's territorial claims are not competent [nepravomochnymil], either from historical or from legal standpoints. Moreover, many Soviet people see in them a manifestation of revanchism and a direct attempt to alter the results of WWII, which was unleashed in the East by militaristic Japan.

Japanese Foreign Minister Comments on Lithuania

LD2604133490 Moscow TASS in English 1310 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Tokyo April 26 TASS—Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama has touched upon the Soviet Government's economic measures towards Lithuania, speaking in the lower chamber's Budget Commission on Wednesday. He said he hoped the issue, which is a domestic problem of the USSR, would be solved through negotiations between the two sides.

"Japan respects Lithuania's right to national self-determination," director of the Japanese Foreign Ministry's Department for European and Ocean Affairs Takehiro Togo said. It is necessary to take account of the current tendency in international relations, settle disputes on the basis of new thinking and work to prevent this problem from affecting the international situation. He noted.

Soviet-Japanese Fishing Commission Ends Session

LD2904153290 Moscow TASS in English 1400 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 29 TASS—In 1990 Japanese fishermen received the right to catch 6,000 tonnes of salmon within the 200-mile economic zone and 11,000 tonnes beyond it. In addition, 1,000 tonnes of these valuable fish will be cought by Soviet fishermen. Japan will pay Soviet fishery organisations 3.15 billion yen for measures to protect and restore salmon stocks.

These are the basic agreements reached at the sixth session of the Soviet-Japanese Commission on Cooperation in Fisheries which ended here today.

The agreements reflect the Soviet decision to gradually phase out the fishing of salmon, which reproduce in Soviet rivers, with a view to stopping it altogether by 1992.

At the same time, the Soviet side is prepared, on mutually acceptable terms, to develop cooperation with the Japanese to fish salmon near spawning grounds where selective catching can be done without damaging its stocks. This has been practiced for two years now by the joint Soviet-Japanese venture Pilengo Godo, which is building a salmon hatchery on Sakhalin.

During the session joint research of the sea fauna in the northwest Pacific was coordinated and meetings planned between specialists of the two countries on perfecting ways of catching and reprocessing fish. This research has been carried out for many years and orients the two countries' fishermen towards national fishing.

The question of unregulated fishing of Alaska pollack in the central Bering Sea, outside the economic zones of the USSR and USA, was also raised. Nine states are fishing Alaska pollack in great amounts without any coordination, which harms the stocks of this fish off the Soviet and U.S coasts. There are outstanding problems as regards the open part of the Sea of Okhotsk. Soviet proposals to elaborate international measures to regulate fisheries in these seas were not supported by the Japanese delegation.

Yakovlev Receives Departing Japanese Ambassador

LD2704152490 Moscow TASS in English 1453 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Mosocw April 27 TASS—Member of the Soviet Presidential Council Aleksandr Yakovlev received today Japanese Ambassador to the Soviet Union Toshiaki Muto who is returning to Japan upon completing his tour of duty.

Gosteleradio Chief Holds Talks in Tokyo

LD2404185490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 24 Apr 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent A. Koloshin, identified by caption] Talks have been held in Tokyo between Nenashev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting [Gosteleradio], and Mr (Sim), chairman of NHK, Japan's largest broadcasting corporation. They dealt with expanding cooperation in many spheres of activity, and this is particularly important now that all kinds of exchanges are being sharply intensified before the visit to Japan by President Gorbachev, planned for next year. A memorandum was signed which summed up what had been achieved, and marked out new horizons for cooperation. NHK is the only noncommercial company in the country and, in it structure and tasks, is in many respects close to Gosteleradio. Our Vremya program is regularly broadcast on its channels.

An exchange of specialists is now being set up. Screening of the 12-part film Arktika, made with our participation, has just ended and there are major new projects ahead which will help the Soviet and Japanese peoples to understand more deeply the each other's life and problems. Active cooperation is also intended, of course, in the preparation and dissemination of news, especially news relating to the our president's coming visit. [video shows talks in progress, delegation visiting television control room]

Attack on Soviet Commerce Mission Examined

PM2504140390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by IZVESTIYA correspondent S. Agafonov: "Seoul Police Launch Investigation; Pogrom in Soviet Mission"]

[Text] Tokyo—Somehow, all this does not tie up with the first good steps toward building mutually advantageous bilateral trade and economic dialogue between our country and South Korea, but there is no getting around the fact, as they say: Last Sunday in Seoul a mysterious attack was made on the premises of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry mission in South Korea.

The mission's offices are situated on the sixth floor of a heavily guarded building which forms part of an international trade complex, so it would be quite difficult to accuse street hooligans of being responsible for the incident because there are guards on duty around the clock at the entrance to the building and also on the floor where the mission is situated. Moreover, it is quite obvious that the purpose of the attack was not some trivial burglary: All furniture, doors, and tables in the mission's offices were smashed, but money and valuables were left intact.

I was told by our mission's personnel that, to all appearances, the aim of the attackers was a simple demonstration of crude force: Not a single lock in the department "survived," drawers had been ripped out of desks, and the door to the office smashed without the use of any ingenious devices. Everything had been either booted in or smashed with a crowbar. For the sake of objectivity it should be pointed out that the office safes did not suffer, although this does not make the situation any easier: A consular group is to begin work in the near future as part of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry Department, so the safekeeping of visa forms, stamps, and other documentation will be a prime concern. It is not clear how this can now be guaranteed, because, although "reprieved" last Sunday, the safes may not be so lucky next time, if the intruders should require their contents rather than a demonstration.

According to Chamber of Commerce and Industry personnel accredited in Seoul, threats "to take apart" the Soviet offices were sent to the mission several weeks ago, but the guard profile was raised and nothing unpleasant occurred. Now, however, the "action" has taken place.

An investigating team from the South Korean police has been working in the Chamber of Commerce and Industry mission in Seoul since early this morning. By all accounts, it is being very thorough and has promised to seek out the attackers without fail. Despite the objective "difficulties," our compatriots are working flat out. True, they have nowhere to sit because virtually every desk is in ruins, but the telephones are still working and, as always, there is no letup in the calls.

Petrovskiy Interviewed; Urges End to COCOM

OW 2404122690 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 20 Apr 90

[Text] A UN conference on disarmament was held in Sendai from 16 to 19 April. The theme of the conference was science and technology trends and their impact on international peace and security. Petrovskiy, Soviet deputy foreign minister who attended the conference, was interviewed by Moscow Radio's Tokyo correspondent Potapov. We would like to introduce excerpts of the interview.

Deputy Foreign Minister Petrovskiy first praised the recently concluded UN conference on disarmament, saying that the event had a great bearing on the international community. Deputy Foreign Minister Petrovskiy then continued:

The prospects for cooperation in science and technology are bright as pointed out at the conference. However, in order to make the prospects a reality and to make technological exchanges possible, it is necessary to eliminate obstacles.

Now that the Berlin Wall—the ideological symbol dividing the world—has collapsed and has become a thing of the past, shouldn't the wall of the Coordinating Committee on Multilateral Export Controls [COCOM], which is hindering normal technological exchanges among various countries, also be turned into a thing of the past? This was brought up at the Sendai conference, and the Soviet delegation made a series of concrete proposals. For instance, the Soviet Union called for strong exercise of the UN authority to block frontier technologies from being used to produce weapons and also noted the need for extensive exchange of technologies among nations.

The Soviet side also proposed that consultations be held aimed at promoting exchanges of strategic materials that can be used in both commercial and military industries. If the talks can be realized, this will become the first step toward removing COCOM rules and toward the promotion of technological exchanges. It was very pleasing to note that these Soviet proposals evoked favorable responses at the recent conference.

On the environment, efforts of one nation alone are not enough to solve so many problems. The Soviet Union is willing to cooperate with all nations in this area. At the conference, the Soviet Union proposed to use Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands as test sites in which the Soviet Union and Japan can cooperate in the area of the environmental protection. Environmental issues of the region have a bearing on both the Soviet Union and Japan in various ways. The Soviet Union did not make the proposal only on principles; it has concrete measures to promote substantial cooperation.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Impact of Soviet-Chinese Relations on Cambodia

BK2804124290 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Commentary by Aleksey Nikolayev]

[Text] The Soviet and Chinese foreign ministers at a meeting held during the visit by Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng to the Soviet Union, agreed that efforts should be stepped up to achieve a settlement of the Cambodian problem. The rebound of the diplomatic drive to solve the problem was significant. Our commentator Comrade Aleksey Nikolayev writes:

It is true and important that Cambodia's internal affairs should be settled by Cambodians themselves. However, other parties concerned can help them to achieve it as well. And this is what the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China are actively doing for the time being. We wish to recall that in the Soviet-Chinese joint communique released at the conclusion of the summit meeting last May, the two sides emphasized that they would continue their attempts to promote a just and correct political settlement of the Cambodian problem.

In this round of talks in Moscow, the two foreign ministers viewed that negotiations on the Cambodian problem had made progress and that mutual understanding of certain aspects of the problem had deepened. It is fairly significant that there is cooperation among the Soviet Union and China, as well as with the United States, Britain, and France, which are permanent members of the UN Security Council. A new round of talks on Cambodia to be held by the council representatives is scheduled for May, and if there is headway the five superpowers will hold discussions to exchange views with the four Cambodian factions.

The primary issues are the organization of general elections in Cambodia with United Nations participation, a cease-fire, the cessation of aid to the warring factions, and the establishment of an international control mechanism to monitor the implementation of a suitable agreement. The UN participation in a political settlement of the Cambodian problem is now taking a more

visible shape. This was noted by the Soviet and Chinese foreign ministers—Shevardnadze and Qian Qichen—at the meeting in Moscow. It is obvious that Moscow and Beijing have contradictory views on certain aspects of the Cambodian settlement, and this, as we have seen, had created an adverse impact on the progress of normalizing Soviet-Chinese relations. At present, the two sides are holding successive dialogues so as to reach a common stance on the problem.

Now, it is rather realistic and necessary to normalize relations between China and Vietnam. For instance, the proposal for a meeting in Bangkok on Cambodia among Vietnam, China, and Thailand is considerably constructive. It is understood that Hanoi has expressed its readiness to participate in the proposed meeting. Hope has also expressed by observers on the visit to be paid by SRV Deputy Foreign Minister Dinh Nho Liem to Beijing in May.

At the meeting with his Chinese counterpart, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze expressed pleasure on future talks between Chinese and Vietnamese representatives. The Soviet foreign minister was of the opinion that normalization of Chinese-Vietnamese relations would become an important catalyst for cleaning up the messy situation in Southeast Asia.

Proposal on UN Funds for Cambodia Viewed

BK2404082190 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 23 Apr 90

[(Oleg Saloviov) commentary]

[Text] Australia's representative at the United Nations has said that Australia has proposed the setting up of a special UN fund for normalizing the situation in Cambodia. Our observer, (Oleg Saloviov), writes the following:

Australia's proposal is directly linked to the initiative it put forth a few months ago—namely, the proposal by Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans on UN participation in normalizing the situation in Cambodia. The essence of this proposal is the establishment of an interim UN administration while political structures are being set up in Cambodia; the United Nations could organize nationwide elections.

The Australian Government's proposal has received wide support. However, there are still differences on the future administration's responsibility.

In response to the views of some leaders of the opposition Cambodian groups, Phnom Penh thinks that in the transitional period, the two Cambodian governments—the Phnom Penh government and the opposition government—should be in charge, along with a UN administration, because a special situation exists in Cambodia. This stance has received increasing support. Preparations to implement the proposal, which envisages establishment of an interim UN administration in Cambodia, are under way.

A group of UN experts recently visited Cambodia to collect technical data and assess the activities of a future administration. Special mention was made of the necessity to set up a modern communications network in the country. There are many problems. Most important is the problem of funding. Experts have estimated that the activities of a UN administration in Cambodia would require between 150 and 200 million U.S. dollars. The issue to be solved now is where to get this funding. It is precisely here that the special UN fund, which the Australian Government has proposed, can help. It is obvious that this is a useful initiative. As the Australian delegate said at the United Nations, the Australian Government will contribute a million Australian dollars, or $760,000, to this fund.

Cambodian Envoy Interviewed on Settlement

PM2704103190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 90 First Edition p 5

[Interview with Im Chhun Lim, special representative of the general secretary of the KPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Cambodian State Council, by PRAVDA correspondent B. Barakhta under the "Our Interviews" rubric: "Compromise Needed"—date not specified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Im Chhun Lim, special envoy of the general secretary of the KPRP [Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party] Central Committee and chairman of the State of Cambodia State Council, has visited a number of European states recently. En route for home he gave an interview to your PRAVDA correspondent in Moscow.

[Barakhta] How do you view the reports by certain Western mass media that, if Vietnam stops giving assistance to the State of Cambodia, it will not be able to survive?

[Im Chhun Lim] It is well known that for six months after the complete withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Cambodia our people, completely independently under the leadership of the KPRP, made considerable efforts to ensure the normal and stable development of the situation in the country. We are doing our utmost to contribute to the search for a political settlement of the Cambodian problem through talks and are sincerely pursuing a policy of national reconciliation.

I should like to stress that this work requires tremendous efforts and energy. After all, we are acting independently now. For this reason, like it or not, we are going to have to face certain objective and subjective difficulties. Our main efforts are aimed at protecting the people's lives and preventing the restoration of Pol Pot's genocide regime.

Certain Western mass media claim that, if Vietnam stops giving us aid, the State of Cambodia will not last long. Some say that our regime will fall in a few months, others that it will happen straightaway. Pol Pot's men and the Sihanouk and Son Sann groupings thought that the complete withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops would give them a long-awaited strategic opportunity to achieve victory. Therefore, less than a week after the completion of the Vietnamese units' withdrawal, the Sihanouk and Son Sann groupings, working in close military cooperation and relying on Pol Pot's forces, launched an offensive against our troops. In so doing they were seeking success on the battlefield to strengthen their hand at the negotiating table. Their aim was to capture three provinces in the west and northwest of the country adjoining the Cambodian-Thai border. However, they failed to achieve their plans.

The State of Cambodia Government is keeping control of the situation across the whole country. Although there are outbreaks of combat activity in certain areas along the Cambodian-Thai border, the overall situation in inland regions remains calm. Thus, purely militarily, the situation is not shaping up badly for us.

[Barakhta] A new economic policy is being implemented in the country. What are its main features?

[Im Chhun Lim] Indeed, since April 1989 we have been pursuing a new policy of openness approved by the Second KPRP National Conference. Its aim is the comprehensive democratization of society's life. The right to inherit land and homes has been introduced and extensive opportunities have been created for the development of private enterprise and state-capitalist activity in agriculture, industry, cottage industry and handicrafts, trade, services, transport, and so forth.

In the State of Cambodia Constitution Buddhism is defined as the state religion and freedom of all religions is guaranteed within the framework of the Constitution and existing laws. The supreme penalty—the death penalty—has been abolished. Citizens have been given the right to freely choose their place of abode both in the country and abroad and also to return to Cambodia; they have been given freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom to disseminate information, and freedom of assembly.

The new political principles have been generally greeted with approval by the population and create favorable conditions for implementing the first five-year program of economic restoration and development. Per capita food production exceeded 300 kg in 1989-1990. In the same period the area of productive rubber plantations increased 10 percent and an extra 5,700 hectares of hevea trees were planted.

In addition to these positive phenomena, however, there are considerable shortcomings which we are working to overcome. The mechanism for achieving a new exchange rate is developing slowly and there is a lack of experience of social management on the basis of the new principles. Considerable difficulties are occurring in the preparation and implementation of economic plans in a situation which is half peace, half war.

[Barakhta] How do you view the initiatives of the Soviet Union, Australia, and the ASEAN countries on the settlement of the Cambodian problem? Clearly, a settlement is impossible without Cambodia's participation. Therefore what is your government's attitude to a settlement and what are its proposals on this score?

[Im Chhun Lim] The State of Cambodia welcomes all initiatives and proposals based on goodwill.

Recently our government has been carefully studying three options: a proposal from Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan on an end to military aid to the opposing Khmer sides, a cease-fire, and the supervised withdrawal of foreign troops; a Soviet proposal on imposing a moratorium on military supplies to all the warring Khmer sides; and Australia's proposal on a mechanism for organizing the transitional period until general elections are held. In addition we have studied the experience of the Namibian settlement.

On this basis the State of Cambodia has put forward its own three-point proposals. The State of Cambodia welcomes and recognizes the role of the United Nations in settling the Cambodian problem. We agree to the creation of an interim UN administrative agency whose functions should include monitoring the implementation of international agreements on Cambodia, organizing free general elections, and supervising them.

The government has no objections to the creation of a Supreme National Council involving representatives of our government and the government of Democratic Kampuchea (the opposition alliance—Editor's Note). This organ would be a symbol of Cambodia's national sovereignty, independence, and national unity and the country's territorial integrity in the transitional period and could also fill Cambodia's seat at the United Nations in place of Democratic Kampuchea's representatives for this period.

At the same time, we believe that the key to the solution of the Cambodian problem lies not in the structure of the provisional government in the transitional period, which requires the disbandment of the existing governments and the creation of a quadripartite government, nor in placing the country under the protection of a UN administration, but in ensuring for the Cambodian people the opportunity to express their will through free elections organized and supervised by the United Nations. To move toward that we are ready to discuss the question of reciprocal relations between the United Nations and the civilian government in this period on the basis of the formulas proposed by the Australian foreign minister so as to find the one that is best.

It is not the loss of voters' votes that we fear but the loss of national sovereignty if Cambodia passes under full UN control and the possible bloodshed and death of

Cambodians in the chaos that is bound to follow if the existing governments are disbanded.

We are trying to remove the fears and doubts of the different sides and states involved in the Cambodian problem by advocating a rigorous investigation of the problem of the so-called "Vietnamese troops in disguise" and the question of the "Vietnamese civilian settlers" in Cambodia and by trying to prevent these problems from being used as a pretext to undermine the peace talks and prolong the civil war in our country. Furthermore, our government has announced the adoption of a status of permanent neutrality within the framework of the neutralization of the Southeast Asia region.

All these things represent the efforts and contribution of the Phnom Penh government, which has consistently offered concessions and compromises. For that reason the other sides should make concessions, too. Regrettably, though, the Pol Pot supporters again disrupted the latest informal meeting in Jakarta by using their right of veto, just as they did before at the international conference on Cambodia in Paris. Thus we believe that so long as the Pol Pot side, which is guilty of crimes of genocide, is given legal recognition and help it will be impossible to find a political solution.

[Barakhta] In the light of the ASEAN countries' efforts to establish regional cooperation, how do you view the prospects for Cambodia's collaboration with the Association?

[Im Chhun Lim] On the basis of our foreign policy principles—independence, peace, neutrality, and nonalignment—our government firmly pursues a course of peaceful coexistence, the development of friendly relations and cooperation, and the establishment of diplomatic relations with all the world's countries, first and foremost our neighbors, regardless of their political system, on a basis of equality, mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, and mutual benefit and in the interests of safeguarding peace in Southeast Asia and throughout the world. That is why the State of Cambodia is striving to establish good-neighborly relations in the region with Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand as well as with other Southeast Asian states on the basis that I mentioned so as to build and develop real cooperation in the economic, scientific, and technical spheres.

[Barakhta] What do you think about the prospects for Cambodian-Chinese relations?

[Im Chhun Lim] I think that the Cambodian and Chinese peoples have an ancient tradition of good relations. At the present stage, too, there are considerable real grounds for developing them. All that is needed is to revive those grounds. I hope that when the Cambodian problem is settled, relations between our two states will improve without fail in the interests of the Cambodian and Chinese peoples.

Near East & South Asia

Syrian President Al-Asad Pays Working Visit

Arrives for Two-Day Visit

LD2704151990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1443 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow, 27 April (TASS)—Hafiz al-Asad, president of the Syrian Arab Republic [SAR], arrived in Moscow on a working visit today. SAR Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shara' is accompanying him.

USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR Ambassador to Syria Aleksandr Zotov, and other officials met the Syrian president at the airport.

Hafiz al-Asad's two day visit schedule provides for a tete-a-tete with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev which will subsequently be continued in an expanded form. USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will also have a conversation with Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shara'. It is expected that a protocol on consultations between the USSR and SAR foreign ministries will be signed during the visit.

Al-Asad Delegation Detailed

JN2704165090 Damascus SANA in Arabic 1635 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow, 27 Apr (SANA)—President Hafiz al-Asad arrived in Moscow today on a working visit at the invitation of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

A delegation comprising 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam, vice president; General Mustafa Talas, deputy commander in chief, deputy prime minister, and defense minister; Daniel Ni'mah, member of the Central Command of the National Progressive Front; and Faruq al-Shar', minister of foreign affairs, arrived with the president.

Talks between the president and the Soviet president are scheduled to begin tomorrow, Saturday.

Envoy Offers Insight Into Visit

LD2604221290 Moscow TASS in English 1647 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—The forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union by President Hafiz al-Asad of the Syrian Arab Republic will be an important step in the development of the traditionally strong, friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Syria.

The visit will boost the establishment of closer cooperation between the two countries' leaders, Aleksander Zotov, Soviet ambassador in Syria, told a briefing at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Press Centre today.

The meetings between Mikhail Gorbachev and Hafiz al-Asad reflect the high level of political dialogue between the two countries and the high degree of trust

and play an important role in the development of versatile cooperation between the Soviet Union and Syria, Zotov emphasised.

The ambassador focussed on the fact that this will be a working visit. The two countries, he said, have long been cooperating and the two leaders know each other well. Therefore "the emphasis is not on the ceremony or outward aspect of the matter but in the content of these contacts."

Since President al-Asad's latest visit to the Soviet Union, major changes have taken place in the world and new trends have emerged and grown stronger, Zotov said.

Therefore the two sides want to discuss these new aspects of world development, compare positions and jointly think over and evaluate major aspects of the present-day international situation. They want to exchange opinions about their continued coordination of political actions aimed at promoting the cause of peace and security.

The ambassador said the Middle East theme will figure importantly at the forthcoming talks, since the normalisation of the situation in the Middle East "is proceeding at a slower pace than is the case in some other regions".

Zotov drew attention to a number of various flexible aspects that have appeared in Syria's attitude towards the situation in the Arab world.

"There is more openness and a desire to look for a positive format to solve problems, including in terms of Syrian-Palestinian relations," Zotov said.

He believes that "the Syrian leadership's full readiness to develop contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and with Yasir 'Arafat is manifest."

"Damascus has stated that its doors are open to a PLO delegation at any level," Zotov said, expressing confidence that "contacts between Syria and PLO will develop."

Gorbachev Meets With Al-Asad

PM2904152790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian Second Edition 29 Apr 90 pp 1, 4

[Unattributed report: "Meeting Between USSR and Syrian Presidents"]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev met Hafiz al-Asad 28 April. The conversation initially took place within the framework of delegations. Then, after a dinner in honor of the guest, it took place in a tete-a-tete over a period of three hours.

Major changes have taken place in the world since their previous meeting. However, as they both stated, the friendship, traditions of comradeship, trust, and the principles on which long-term and fruitful Soviet-Syrian cooperation is built have remained.

The first part of the conversation was entirely devoted to an exchange of information on the position and policy of the two friendly states. This was an in-depth, frank analysis of their revolutionary pasts and their present problems, many of which have common features. For this reason, discussion on this subject was characterized by a creative exchange of experience. The atmosphere itself and the aim of clarifying the essence of various issues attested to profound mutual understanding, to unchanging solidarity, and to a sincere interest in the success of the policy being implemented.

What was being discussed was the international significance of perestroyka for the entire world, and for a political solution to the greatest contemporary problems. Bearing this in mind, said Mikhail Gorbachev, we see the main task in our foreign policy activity as being the maintenance of relatively stable progress in the dialectic of contradictions of world development.

In analyzing the extent of the threat of world war which has been considerably reduced in recent years, the problem of Israel's possession of nuclear weapons was touched upon. Serious concern was expressed concerning this.

Naturally the situation in the Near East occupied a large part of the conversation. The interlocutors agreed that the process of a general settlement and the arrival at an international conference is being held up by the position of the United States. It is even worse than the position of the previous administration. As a result, the Israeli leadership is still not being stimulated into seeking a real way out of the deadlock, and is behaving in an aggressive and challenging manner.

Hafiz al-Asad drew attention to the attempts by certain circles in the West to use the fact that the Soviet Union is occupied with its own internal affairs to strengthen pressure on progressive forces and on the Arab world.

In connection with this the conversation moved on to a very major problem of world significance. The tendency toward what one might call revanche which still exists in the West deserves very serious attention, said Mikhail Gorbachev. It is linked primarily with events in Eastern Europe, and is based on errors and anticommunist stereotypes. They are burying the socialist ideal. Meanwhile, despite the pain, processes in this part of the world are moving towards profound democratic changes—typical of modern development. And this trend also includes new prospects for the socialist ideal. This indeed is what the philosophy of Soviet perestroyka is built on.

World development must not be measured in periods of one electoral campaign or another, or by the term of some government in office. Factors are forming in the world now which will determine its fate for decades, if not for centuries ahead. If one looks from such a height, the historic scale of the present turn in the life of civilization is obvious. And it is particularly important

that the transitional period is not undermined by forces acting in narrow, selfish interests.

I do not share, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed, pessimistic assessments regarding the future. Illusions are impermissible, but one must not lose a perspective based upon a fully realistic evaluation of the possibilities for progress. The forces of dialogue and interaction are very considerable, including Western Europe and the United States, although the temptation remains there to make use of the situation for the reconstruction of "American leadership of the world." We all see that. Mikhail Gorbachev and Hafiz al-Asad discussed a number of concrete questions. The favorable development of Soviet-Iranian relations after the visit to the USSR of President Hashemi-Rafsanaji was noted with great satisfaction.

The situation in and around Lebanon was examined in detail, as was the Arab world in general. And in this connection, the interlocutors also discussed major problems of a theoretical and historical nature—of the character of nations and peoples, of the prospects and specific features of their mutual relations, of the positive and negative aspects in their development.

Hafiz al-Asad raised the issue of the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel, which is causing Arbs extreme alarm. Appraising Syria's objective position, Mikhail Gorbachev resolutely rejected the conjecture about "some compact" between the USSR and the United States, which has been spread in some Arab countries, too. The reasons for the emigration of Jews, which has increased recently, are related to domestic processes in the Soviet Union, and to certain undesirable phenomena in interethnic relations. Outside influence is also having an effect. While provoking emigration from the USSR, the United States is simultaneously closing its doors to the emigrants.

Hafiz al-Asad voiced a number of considerations about the manner in which the problem could be settled. Mikhail Gorbachev agreed that there is a problem and that it should be thought through in the context specifically of Arabs' rights, and not just of human rights in general. The Soviet Union's policy is unchanging in its fundamental solidarity with the cause of Arab liberation.

Questions of further cooperation in the area of assisting the modernization of the Syrian Armed Forces were discussed.

All in all, there was a large and useful discussion which was rich in ideas and information. The meeting between the two presidents will undoubtedly serve to strengthen the friendship and interaction between the two peoples and states.

Taking part in the meeting were E.A. Shevardnadze, D.T Yazov, K.F. Katushev, K.N. Brutents, A.S. Dzasokhov, V.P. Polyakov, A.I. Zotov, A.H. Khaddam, M. Na'ib.

SANA on Al-Asad,Gorbachev Talks

JN2804153290 Damascus SANA in Arabic 1410 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow, 28 Apr (SANA)—Syrian-Soviet talks began today in Moscow as part of President Hafiz al-Asad's working visit to the Soviet capital at the invitation of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

The president and President Gorbachev held a meeting in the Kremlin at 1000 Damascus time. It was attended on the Syrian side by Vice President 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam; General Mustafa Talas, deputy commander in chief, deputy prime minister, and defense minister; Daniel Ni'mah, a member of the Central Command of the National Progressive Front; Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar'; and 'Isam al-Na'ib, the Syrian Arab Republic ambassador in Moscow.

On the Soviet side, the meeting was attended by Eduard Shevardnadze, Politburo member and foreign minister; General Dimitriy Yazov, Politburo candidate member and defense minister; Konstantin Katushev, minister of foreign economic relations; Aleksandr Dzasokhov, chairman of the International Affairs Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Anatoliy Chernyayev, President Gorbachev's political advisor; Karen Brutents, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee's International Department; Vladimir Polyakov, chief of the Near Eastern and North African Countries' Administration at the Foreign Ministry; and Aleksandr Zotov, the Soviet ambassador in Damascus.

This meeting was followed by a working lunch held by Soviet President Gorbachev in honor of President Hafiz al-Asad. It was also attended by the Syrian and Soviet delegations taking part in the talks.

After the working lunch, the president and President Gorbachev held a closed meeting in which they continued to discuss topics they touched on during the expanded meeting.

Concurrent with the talks between the two presidents, Gen. Mustafa Talas met alone with Soviet Defense Minister Dimitriy Yazov.

Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' also met with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze.

The talks centered on world developments and their implications for Syria, the Soviet Union, and the Middle East, set against the background of Israel's resistance to international efforts to bring a just and comprehensive peace to the region.

Each side outlined developments and achievements in their respective countries.

They also discussed bilateral relations and multi-faceted cooperation with a view to increasing it further in their mutual interest.

His excellency the president emphasized Syria's desire to deepen friendship and cooperation further, adding that this would serve Middle East security. President al-Asad underscored the importance of the USSR's role in efforts to achieve peace in this part of the world.

Assessing the situation in the Middle East, President al-Asad blamed Israel's belligerent and expansionist policies for the non-implementation of UN resolutions and the failure of international peace intiatives.

His excellency the president made the point that unilateral and piecemeal solutions could not possibly produce a comprehensive and equitable peace.

The president expressed Syria's appreciation for Moscow's initiatives on conventional and nuclear disarmament.

For his part, President Gorbachev stressed the significance the USSR attaches to reinforcing relations with Syria, and spoke highly of the character of His Excellency President Hafiz al-Asad and his regional and world standing.

President Gorbachev emphasized that there was no fundamental change in Moscow's Middle East policies or its position on the question of peace in the region. In conjunction with Syria and other concerned parties, he would pursue the effort to promote peace, the Soviet leader added.

President Gorbachev stressed the importance of coordination and cooperation between the USSR and Syria, noting that the two sides' views are quite close on key issues, and said that they would sustain their cooperation in the interest of regional and world peace.

Meanwhile, Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, speaking to Syrian journalists after the expanded meeting between the Soviet and Syrian sides, called the talks good and positive, adding that the prospects for developing relations were favorable.

Shevardnadze Meets Al-Shar'

LD2804193190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1720 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow, 28 April, (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, had a meeting today with Faruq al-Shar', Syrian Arab Republic [SAR] foreign minister, who is in Moscow in connection with a working visit to the Soviet Union by Hafiz al-Asad, SAR president.

It was with satisfaction that the ministers noted the importance of the new summit meeting and the confidential and fruitful nature of the political dialogue between the leaders of the Soviet Union and Syria.

In discussion of the prospects for a Near East settlement the conversation focused on possible ways of launching the talks process in order to prepare and convene an international conference. The interlocutors stressed the need to direct efforts at achieving real forward progress in this direction.

Faruq al-Shar' confirmed Syria's readiness to take an active part in developing this multilevel work and the sincere interest of the Syrian side in very rapidly establishing a complete peace that would be fair to all in the Near East. However, the goodwill and realism being shown by Arab countries, stressed the minister, are not meeting with an adequate response from Israel.

E.A. Shevardnadze noted the importance of not losing sight of a peaceful reconstruction of the Middle East. Such large-scale measures as the creation of a regional center for reducing the danger of war; the restriction of the arms race, including missiles and missile technology; and the turning of the Middle East into a zone free of nuclear, chemical, and other types of weapons of mass destruction could lead to this. The unanimous opinion was expressed that the formation of favorable conditions for lessening regional tension should become the clearly recognized task of all Middle East states. The situation evoked by the illegal actions of Israel in resettling immigrants on the occupied Arab territories was discussed. We call upon the UN Security Council, E.A. Shevardnadze said, to adopt an effective decision inducing the government of Israel to renounce the policy of colonization of these lands. Arab states can make a considerable contribution here. As for the Soviet Union, we want our cooperation with Arabs in this question to be closer. The sides came out in favor of support of national reconciliation in Lebanon on the basis of implementation of the Al-Ta'if agreements. In their opinion, the political, economic, and administrative measures undertaken by the legitimate Lebanese authorities with the assistance of the committee of the three Arab states are capable of strengthening the tendency toward restoration of a stable internal peace in this country. The sides stressed mutual interest in the further expansion and intensification of Soviet-Syrian relations on the basis of the treaty of friendship and cooperation of 8 October 1980. The successful development of cooperation between the external political services of both countries was noted. In order to impart an even more stable and regular character it has been decided to conclude a protocol on consultations between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union and Syria.

Foreign Ministry Protocol Detailed

JN2804211290 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 2015 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] At the Soviet Foreign Ministry this evening, Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze signed a protocol providing for consultation between the two countries' foreign ministries. The protocol was signed out of their mutual desire to cooperate in every way toward an effective and fruitful improvement of relations between the two ministries and in harmony with the friendship

and cooperation treaty signed between the Syrian Arab Republic and the Soviet Union on 8 October 1980.

The protocol calls for regular talks and consultations between the two parties on current and new international and regional issues, and on bilateral ties. These are to take place at the foreign minister level and between their assistants, department heads, and experts at both ministries. The talks and consultations are to focus on major international issues, particularly those related to disarmament, the prevention of war, and other issues. These include achieving a just and comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, based on the inadmissibility of acquiring the territory of others by force; preparations for for convening an international peace conference on the Middle East at the soonest possible time; and matters related to the security of the Mediterranean region and making it a zone of peace and cooperation.

These issues also include the struggle against neocolonialism and terrorism, and the final eradication of racism in its various forms and manifestations. They also include strengthening the role of the United Nations and any other issues on which the two parties feel there is a need to exchange views.

The protocol is valid for five years. It will be automatically renewed unless one of the two parties request its cancellation six months before its expiry date.

Al-Asad Receives Gen Yazov

JN2804202790 Damascus Television Service in Arabic 2010 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] This evening, His Excellency President Hafiz al-Asad received at his residence in Moscow USSR Defense Minister General Dimitriy Yazov. Attending the meeting were General Mustafa Talas, deputy commander in chief of the Army and Armed Forces, deputy prime minister, and defense minister; and the Soviet ambassador in Damascus.

Al-Asad Departs Moscow

JN2904120390 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1115 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] It has been learned in Moscow that President Hafiz al-Asad left the Soviet capital at noon today. Heading those who saw him off at Moscow airport were: Yevgeniy Primakov, member of the Presidency Council and deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Fikriyat Tabeyev, deputy prime minister of the Russian SFSR; Aleksandr Dzasokhov, chairman of the International Affairs Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Vladimir Polyakov, chief of the Middle East and North Africa Administration at the USSR Foreign Ministry; Aleksandr Zotov, the USSR ambassador in Damascus; and officials from the Foreign and Defense Ministries.

Returning with the president was his delegation comprising 'Abd- al-Halim Khaddam, vice president; General Mustafa Talas, deputy commander in chief, deputy prime minister, and defense minister; Daniel Ni'mah, member of the Central Command of the National Progressive Front; and Faruq al-Shar', foreign minister.

Syria's 'Consistent' Policy on Mideast Conflict

PM3004084790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 90 Second Edition p 6

[TASS correspondent V. Shchennikov dispatch "especially for PRAVDA": "The Long Confrontation. Tel Aviv's Plans for Annexation. Syria Not Abandoning Its Positions. Is There Light At the End of the Tunnel?"]

[Text] Damascus—For more than two decades Israel has held control of the Syrian Golan Heights. Moreover, Tel Aviv has even announced their annexation. The Israeli occupation forces are forcing the local population to give up their Syrian citizenship.

The Israelis are striving to reinforce their grip on this important economic and, above all, strategic region which provides control over the surrounding territories. Even in the event of the Golan Heights' being returned to the Syrians, Tel Aviv is counting on retaining a small section of land including Mount Jabal al-Shaykh (Hermon), where state-of-the-art electronics have been installed for intelligence purposes. Officers from the contingent of UN observers can vouch for how effective this equipment is. The Israeli services on the mountain, in their words, once told a UN subunit commander located many kilometers away that one of his shoulder stars had fallen off.

The occupiers are pursuing a policy of expelling the native inhabitants—Syrian Druzes—and creating their own part-militarized settlements. The Druze population has fallen to 15,000 as a result. However, it is not prepared to accept its position. Large anti-Israeli demonstrations are continually held on the Golan Heights. The demonstrators demand reunification with the mother country and support the just struggle of the Palestinian people. A new wave of these demonstrations broke out quite recently.

Naturally, Syria has an important role to play in the incipient process of resolving the Near East conflict. Its voice is heeded and its opinions are taken into account. Analysis of the foreign policy actions and speeches by representatives of the country's higher political leadership show that, unlike certain other participants in the conflict, over the past 20 years Syria has not changed its view of the solution to the Near East problem—it pursues a consistent course. Syria's adherence to the idea of a universal and just Near East settlement which would lead to the establishment of lasting peace in the region was reaffirmed by Syrian President H. al-Asad at his meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze last year.

The Syrians reject the idea of separate talks with Israel and advocate the convening of a full international conference on the Near East under UN auspices with the participation of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. And the country's leadership believes that the general process of improving international relations is creating favorable conditions for achieving a breakthrough on a Near East settlement. Syria demands the liberation of the Arab territories occupied by Israel in 1967 and advocates the implementation of the Arab people of Palestine's national rights to rebirth, self-determination, and the creation of an independent state.

At the same time, the Syrians have until recently been showing a certain amount of pessimism with regard to a possible fair resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict at the present stage. And, as a rule, references are made to the long-term nature of the aggressive U.S.-Israeli strategy in the region and dissension among the Arab countries which is difficult to surmount. At a time when the Arabs are talking about peace, Syrian Vice President 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam notes, Israel is building up its militarist preparations and only hardening its obstructionist position. In the prevailing situation, he stated, we should strive to unite the Arab countries' political, economic, scientific, and military potential, changing the overall atmosphere of relations among us.

TASS Notes Promise of U.S. Hostage Release

LD3004140390 Moscow TASS in English 1349 GMT 30 Apr 90

[Text] Beirut April 30 TASS—A second U.S. hostage in Lebanon has been promised to be released by kidnappers in the Lebanese capital.

A statement by a previously unknown group calling itself Organisation of Islamic Dawn said Sunday Frank Reed would be set free within 48 hours and would carry a message to the American Administration.

The statement was accompanied by two photographs of Reed.

Reed was abducted in September 1986 near Beirut Airport.

On April 22, kidnappers released another American hostage in Lebanon, Robert Polhill, a 55-year-old teacher from American University in Beirut.

Commentary on Arrest of American 'Spies' in Iran

NC3004113890 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 29 Apr 90

[(Nikolay Andrenikov) commentary]

[Text] We want to devote this part of our program to the subject of the [word indistinct] sickness of spies, this political sickness which one have expected to end gradually with the [word indistinct] of the world political situation.

The arrest of 10 U.S. spies in Tehran is the reason for this discussion. These people were arrested some time ago, but as announced by Ebrahim Ra'isi, public prosecutor of the Islamic Revolution, they are to be executed in Tehran soon.

Exactly one year ago, the Iranian media informed the world that a large U.S. spy (?network) had been uncovered. Since then, sentiments have died down, but now they want to offer a new scene of punishment to the Tehran residents.

I do not intend, in any way, to cast doubt on the evidence the Iranian interrogators and magistrates have gathered. But the arrest of dozens of elements of a serious organization such as the CIA is iteslf a topic that should be discussed. Moreover, we Soviets, and especially those of us who are older, well remember similar mass arrests of spies during the war—that is, arrests of German and Japanese spies—and arrests of spies after the war—that is, British and American spies. All such (?hunts) in a society create an atmosphere of tension and mistrust and a type of social hysteria.

I want to repeat that I do not intend, in any way, to cast doubt on the documents collected by the interrogators (?especially since) these documents have not yet been published. However, I would like to point out the circumstances under which this was done.

The Iran-Iraq war is receding further into the past, but social and economic problems remain. These can no longer be blamed on plots by the so-called satan Saddam. The Salman Rushdie scandal which roused not only Iran but the entire Islamic world is gradually dying down. (?At present) a display of hatred against the enemy (?is necessary).

It should be pointed out that the same situation exists on the other side of the border, too. There, too, a spy—this time a British spy—named Farzad Bazoft was arrested and immediately hanged. All this was accompanied with a propaganda commotion and popular rallies.

Generally speaking, the situations are more or less the same in Iran and Iraq. Both peoples are shouldering the heavy burden of an eight-year war. Both peoples expect democratic reforms from their governments. Iran wants to improve its economic situation. However, neither Baghdad nor Tehran want to give up [word indistinct]. Generally speaking, the solution of economic problems is a lengthy and difficult process.

Under such conditions a so-called [word indistinct] of the enemy is needed so that the enemy can be blamed for all ills. Attempts are being made to create a [word indistinct] situation in the country where no one can speak about democracy or about improving the economic situation of workers.

But stimulants are not drugs which can be used over any extended period. The human organism cannot stand prolonged use. This applies to a political stimulant drug as well.

Iranian Law Against Economic 'Terrorism' Eyed

NC2604162090 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Interview with analyst Yuriy Andreyev by unidentified announcer from the "On the Waves of Radio Moscow" feature—recorded; Andreyev speaks in Russian with superimposed Persian translation]

[Text] [Announcer] Dear friends, the Council of Guardians of the Islamic Republic of Iran has approved a law to combat economic terrorism. This law is aimed at preventing hoarding and at combating corruption and bribery on all levels. Radio Moscow analyst Yuriy Andreyev has this to say about this step by Iranian officials.

[Andreyev] The Iranian Government announced several large-scale campaigns against corruption, black marketeering, and hoarding in the past, but these campaigns failed to produce any tangible results. Prices continued to rise while hoarding grew. Mounting economic problems were accompanied by serious social crises.

It was under these conditions that a large group of Majlis deputies presented a bill to the Majlis on 8 April. The bill called for steps to be taken against economic terrorism. The parliament reacted immediately and the bill was approved in mid-April.

[Announcer] What are the basic principles of this law?

[Andreyev] According to this law, attempts to hike prices and to hoard are tantamount to acts against the state. Article 6 of the new law sets the death sentence for merchants who are guilty of hiking prices and black marketeering. In addition, harsh suppressive punishments are foreseen for failure to pay income tax by individuals and companies, as well as for corruption on all levels. Moreover, under the new law, the government can not only execute merchants and hoarders, but also confiscate their property. The Iranian press has started a great propaganda campaign against black market octopus and the stiflers of Iran's economy.

[Announcer] What effect do you think the implementation of this law, which has now been approved officially by the Council of Guardians, will have?

[Andreyev] I do not believe economic problems can be solved through mere suppressive measures. The rich experience gained after years of use of such laws in other countries shows that such steps may limit black marketeering but they do not erradicate it. More effective steps should be sought to manage the economy. It is not sufficient to resort to an anticorruption campaign. Many experts believe that the main reason for a rise in prices is the shortage of foreign exchange and the low output by state production units. It should be noted that Iran uses foreign exchange to pay for a considerable quantity of its foodstuffs and other staple goods. The law on economic terrorism will not solve these problems. All it does is scare black marketeers for a short time, after which everything may well return to the way it was before.

Iranian Efforts To End Afghan Bloodshed Needed

NC2604144290 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Station commentary]

[Text] Participants in the international Islamic conference, which was held recently in Kabul on the anniversary of the revelation of the Holy Koran, have sent a message to Iran's religious leader Ayatollah Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i. The message says that the Afghan Muslims are burning in the flames of a destructive war and that the entire Islamic world needs to devote great attention to cooperation in view of the continuation of the bloodshed. The participants in the Kabul conference called on Ayatollah Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i to make every effort to end the fratricide and promote negotiations among the Afghans.

I think that the message by the clergymen, scholars, and representatives of 17 international Islamic organizations who participated in the Kabul conference is of both religious and political significance. The Iranian clergymen are highly regarded by the Afghan opposition forces. The truth is that until recently the group of Iranian clergymen which supported exporting the Islamic revolution carried out (?specific) activities on the international scene. Of course they were either unable or unwilling to play a peace-seeking role in the Afghanistan conflict.

However, the situation changed when the new Iranian leadership came to power last summer. The entry of moderate Iranian clerical groups into domestic and foreign politics has become more marked and perceptible. Undoubtedly the message from the participants in the international Islamic conference in Kabul is addressed to them.

Meanwhile, Iran's policy changed after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and Iran is now practically omitted from the list of countries which interfere in Afghanistan's domestic affairs.

However, there still are many camps on Iranian territory where Afghan mujahidin receive military training and this is obstructing the normalization of relations between Iran and Afghanistan. By helping in the solution of some problems, Iran can play a greater role in the international efforts to end the bloodshed in Afghanistan.

Another important problem where Iran can play a role is in helping to arrange political talks among the Afghans and helping in the formation of a broad-based coalition government in Afghanistan. The major obstacle to this is

the refusal by a limited number of people in the Iranian [word indistinct] to recognize the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan as a true power. Their desire to establish a religious regime in Afghanistan is acting like a pair of blinders.

I think that this desire is neither realistic nor just. It is based on giving preference to the rights and interests of one segment of Afghan society and ignoring the rights and interests of another segment of the society. The flames and the conflict cannot be put out in this way. The Afghans themselves should be given the opportunity to solve their problems and reach an agreement.

As for Islam, none of the groups in Afghanistan doubts the need to strengthen this moral basis of Afghan society and Islam is in no way threatened in Afghanistan.

Iran will always enjoy Soviet support in its peace-seeking policy toward Afghanistan. The Soviet Union and Iran have made marked progress on ways to cooperate in solving the Afghanistan problem during the political negotiations between the two sides, but there is still room for further progress.

Tension Persists on Indian-Pakistani Border

LD3004135190 Moscow TASS in English 1340 GMT 30 Apr 90

[Text] New Delhi April 30 TASS—By TASS correspondent Artem Yarikov:

"The situation has come to a head and resembles the one before the Indian-Pakistani war," commandant of the border area in Punjab H.P. Singh Parlkar told TASS.

"The most disturbing reports come from Kashmir, but the situation in Punjab is also tense," he continued.

Troops of the Pakistani regular army and long-range artillery are massed several kilometers from India's northwestern border, while Indian troops are stationed at their permanent places of deployment far from the border.

Border guards at the Pulkanjri frontier post in Punjab State have become accustomed to threats from Pakistan and perform their dutues matter-of-factly.

"It is relatively calm at this border section," said border point commander Ashok Kumar. "Although separatists tried to cross the border in the neighbouring area of Gurdaspur last night. One spy was killed in a skirmish, while two others dumped their submachine-guns and explosives, intended for Sikh gunmen, and fled back to Pakistan."

Peasants were harvesting in the fields on both sides of the border, belying the fact that relations between the two countries are on the verge of an armed conflict.

But despite the real threat of a conflict, border guards expressed hope that a new war would not break out. "It will bring only loss of life and hardships to both nations," they said.

Broad Coalition Seen as Only Option for Israel

TA2704200690 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1700 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Commentary by Viktor Prokofyev]

[Text] President Hayim Herzog has entrusted Yitzhaq Shamir, the caretaker government's prime minister, with forming a new government after Alignment leader Shim'on Peres announced his failure to achieve this goal and returned the mandate to the president. Here is commentator Viktor Prokofyev's commentary on this issue:

All the observers were actually convinced from the very beginning that the Israeli coalition crisis would go on for a long time. The Knesset is divided into two: 60 vs 60; and the people are also divided into two parts on the question of the central issue of the political reality: how to further the political process. As we know, the national unity government fell apart over this question. Minister Roni Milo now optimistically says that a government headed by Yitzhaq Shamir will be established within a few weeks already; however, few people took these statements seriously. Optimistic statements were not wanting in the Alignment either, and the result is no secret. Shamir will probably encounter no less serious problems than Peres faced. Even if he were to succeed in setting up a government based on a narrow coalition, this government would be very unstable. The reason for this is very simple: When society is divided into two camps, no government can carry out a policy which is popular with a decisive majority of the people. A coalition which implements an unpopular policy is always in danger of disintegrating, because the smaller parties are not generally asked to share national responsibility or leave themselves open to criticism.

There are those who believe that electoral reform can straighten matters out. Yesterday, Alignment leader Yitzhaq Rabin called on the Alignment to join Yitzhaq Shamir's government, provided Shamir promise to hold general elections for the premiership within four months. I do not suspect Mr. Rabin of making this proposal for career considerations, even though I have no doubt that among the [word indistinct] candidates for the premiership he is the most popular. However, I would like to clearly state that this is not the way to resolve problems. The structure of Israeli democracy is such that increasing the prime minister's authority at the expense of the Inner Cabinet, especially as no elections for the Knesset are to be held, may make the formation of a coalition totally impossible.

Without a coalition, nothing will move. The need for a political resolution will not go away, and in its continued absence the tension between the two segments of Israeli

society will only grow. Mr. Shamir may be able to put together the most hawkish government in the history of Israel, but it will collapse under the pressure of a strong, aggressive opposition, popular organizations, the U.S. Administration, the EEC, and Egypt within a month or two. The mandate may theoretically be returned to Peres, but if he sets up a narrow government, all its proposed actions will be immediately blocked by the strong opposition and by the public organizations.

At this stage only a broad and strong coalition can resolve the problems facing Israeli society. In order, however, that the problems really be solved, goodwill is needed from both sides of the political camp, not just from the Alignment.

Recent Successes Against Afghan Rebels Detailed

PM3004110990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Apr 90 First Edition p 3

[Special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik report: "They Will Greet the Anniversary in the Front Line"]

[Excerpt] Kabul— Twelve years ago—27 April 1978—an armed demonstration took place in Afghanistan which subsequently received the appellation April Revolution. It was headed by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). The intervening years have not only been years of social, political, and economic reforms, and of the difficult struggle of the patriots of a free Afghanistan against an armed opposition. On this difficult road the PDPA has made a number of miscalculations and mistakes which are being felt even now.

The Paghman Range begins just 15 kilometers northwest of the Afghan capital. The spurs of the Paghman are the gates of Kabul. It is here that the outer ring of the capital's defense is now located. A combat operation by the republic's armed forces against bandit formations entrenched in the Paghman ravines is already into its second week.

...Commanding height 2056, near the village of Kushkak-e Balla. The command post of Lieutenant General Said Masum, deputy commander of the National Guard units, is situated here. On a small field table made up of planks of wood lies an operations map of the combat actions, in which, in addition to the National Guard fighters, soldiers of the the 53d Infantry Division, the 37th Assault Landing Brigade, the 15th Tank Brigade, and other Afghan Army units are taking part. I am standing with Afghan officers behind a pockmarked stone parapet. From here the Paghman can be easily made out, a huge mountainous region comprising a jumble of snowy peaks.

"The government troops are developing their offensive and pushing stubbornly forward, driving the rebels back into the heart of the Paghman," Lt Gen Masum says. "In the course of the operation our troops uncovered a rebel grouping numbering more than 2,000 men, and have eliminated many pockets of resistance and munitions and arms dumps. Back on 21 April our troops successfully stormed the Tappeh Zahir fortress, which is built on a peak in the very center of the Paghman. This made the rebels' position considerably more difficult and hampered the regrouping of their forces and the transportation of ammunition.

"In the last few days we have killed about 80 rebels, seized about 100 rockets of diverse power, and a large quantity of firearm ammunition," Lt Gen Masum continued. "During the war years the rebels have turned the Paghman region into a powerful barrage system. More than 55 detachments belonging to the 'Islamic Party of Afghanistan' and the 'Islamic Society of Afghanistan' are entrenched here. The combat actions are led by Pakistani and Arabic advisers. Caravans carrying weapons are constantly arriving here from Pakistan via the southern province of Laghman. So our fighters will greet their anniversary in the forwardmost positions."

The day before their visit to the combat zone Soviet journalists accredited to Kabul were received by N. Kawiani, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PDPA Central Committee. The conversation was mainly about the current military and political position of Afghanistan, the mistakes and miscalculations made by the party in the past, measures aimed at their correction, Afghan Government efforts to achieve the long-awaited peace, and the creation of conditions for a pan-Afghan dialogue on a broad basis.

"After it came to power in 1978 the PDPA tried to accelerate the process of social, political, and economic reform," Kawiani said. "There were attempts to skip essential stages of social development. We frequently tried to substitute decrees for the traditions of Afghan society. And troops were employed to implement them...

"More than three years ago," Kawiani noted, "the policy of national reconciliation was proclaimed in our country. The party gave priority to political means of resolving the Afghan question. The Soviet troops were withdrawn from the country in strict accordance with the Geneva agreements. For more than a year now the armed forces have been defending the republic on their own. In spite of the betrayal of former Defense Minister Tanai, the army is now increasing its strikes against the opposition forces. On the Jalalabad front, at the walls of Khowst, near Qandahar. And now in the Paghman region.

"We are devoting a lot of attention to the armed forces. This by no means signifies that our leadership favors a military solution to Afghan problems. We are doing everything to establish peace in our land." [passage omitted]

Gorbachev Sends Jubilee Message to Najibullah

PM2704114990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 90 Second Edition p 1

[M. Gorbachev undated greetings message: "To His Excellency Najibullah, Afghan President"]

[Text] On behalf of the Soviet people I congratulate you and the friendly Afghan people on the 12th anniversary of the April Revolution.

This portentous date is being celebrated at a time when the Afghan people's patriotic forces, defending their motherland's independence and sovereignty, are persistently striving to end the fratricidal war and establish the long-awaited peace.

The Soviet Union is in solidarity with the national reconciliation policy aimed at asserting Afghanistan as an independent, nonaligned, and neutral state, and will continue to promote the efforts to ensure a political settlement in Afghanistan. We intend to continue to maintain good relations and to develop cooperation with your country—our close neighbor.

I wish the Afghan people successes in the difficult struggle to realize their national aspirations.
[Signed] M. Gorbachev

East Europe

GDR's De Maiziere, Delgation Visits USSR

Expectations of Visit Noted

LD2804125590 Moscow TASS in English 1134 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—East German Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere arrives in the Soviet Union today on a working visit. This is the first visit by a head of the new East German Government, formed on April 11, to the Soviet Union.

De Maiziere is accompanied by Foreign Minister Markus Meckel, Minister of Economy Gerhard Pohl and Disarmament and Defence Minister Rainer Eppelmann.

The two day visit is scheduled to include talks with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov. Discussion is expected to centre on German reunification. It is extremely important to determine a united Germany's military and political status and its participation in blocs.

"We do not seek NATO membership," Meckel told the People's Chamber on Thursday. He called on NATO to reject its inflexible strategy featuring first nuclear strike capability as being contradictory to the situation on the continent.

United Germany's military and political status should be worked out in order to retain a balance of powers, the Soviet side believes. This could be achieved if Germany became a militarily non-aligned country and its armed forces were strictly defensive in strength.

In addition, the process of German reunification must correlate with efforts to create an all-European security system.

The Soviet Union proposes that the united Germany be both a NATO and Warsaw Treaty member. In this case, German territory would be a site for the two blocs to cooperate constructively and work towards their dissolution.

De Maiziere Arrival Reported

LD2804163690 Moscow TASS in English 1623 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—East German Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere arrived in the Soviet Union today on a working visit.

This is the first trip to the USSR by the head of the new East German Government formed on April 11 this year.

The minister is being accompanied by Foreign Minister Markus Meckel, Economics Minister Gerhard Pohl and Disarmament and Defence Minister Rainer Eppelmann.

The programme envisages discussions and talks with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov, Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, and Defence Minister Dimitriy Yazov.

The dialogue is to focus on issues connected with the process of German unification.

Gorbachev Meets With De Maziere

LD2904084890 Moscow TASS in English 0833 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 29 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev today met East German Prime Minister Lothar de Maziere, who arrived here on a working visit on Saturday.

Gorbachev stressed before going into the talks that he was glad to welcome the head of a government with a very responsible mission to perform for its people and other European nations.

Earlier today De Maziere placed a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier near the Kremlin Wall.

Talks 'Friendly', 'Businesslike'

LD2904201390 Moscow TASS in English 1946 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 29 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev met today East German Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere, who was in the Soviet Union on a working visit at the invitation of the Soviet leadership.

The Soviet president and the East German premier discussed the principled aspects of interaction between

the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic. "We," Gorbachev said, "are for preserving and multiplying all the good things which have been reached between our peoples, millions of Soviet and East German citizens."

The prime minister favoured active cooperation between the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union in all vitally important spheres of political, economic, scientific, technical, cultural and spiritual life.

He stated that the government he headed would honour East German obligations with respect to the Soviet Union, take into account Soviet interests in German affairs and display allegiance to the Warsaw Treaty. "Our policy, including in national relations, will never pose a threat to the Soviet people, other countries of Europe and the world. We intend to be dependable and the predictable partners of the Soviet Union."

Gorbachev and De Maiziere conducted frank and mutually beneficial exchange of views on the key aspects of the major issue of the European and world politics—unification between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Soviet side resolutely confirmed its respect for the right of Germans to self-determination and the legitimate interests of East Germany as a sovereign subject of international law. As regards the two German states' rapprochement and unification, Gorbachev noted that it would be dangerous to replace this natural, although far from simple, process with the annexation of one by the other. This would lead to the disruption of equilibrium and might signify undermining European stability—a major disaster for all.

The Soviet attitude remains negative towards unilateral, unbalanced proposals for the future German state to join NATO. This attitude stems from political realism and a serious concern about prospects for Europe and new approaches to its problems.

The Soviet Union has the legitimate right to participate in defining the united German's international legal status. From the Soviet Union's point of view, a peace treaty or another equipotent act on the final peaceful settlement is consistent with this aim. The conclusion of such an act, by the way, was known to be a proclaimed objective desired by both the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. This document would fully terminate on the state of the German issue and open up another, consonant with the German national dignity and the interests of other European nations.

"We favour the synchronisation and coordination between the process of German unification and the formation of security structures on the European scale. This will strengthen peace on the continent, essentially advance cooperation on the continental scale. We must pool efforts to find a solution of this kind," Gorbachev said. "The similarity and proximity of the Soviet and East German approaches towards key international aspects of German unification," Gorbachev noted, "is a factor which will substantially facilitate the search for balanced, reliably guaranteed solutions."

Lothar de Maiziere expressed understanding of this formulation of the issue, and readiness to look for constructive compromise solutions to issues concerning which approaches differ.

The two leaders agreed that East Germany's international commitments must be taken into account and adhered to after the two German states unite.

The Soviet president wished the East German prime minister success in his activity for the benefit of German citizens at this extremely responsible turn in the German and European history. The meeting was held in a friendly and business-like atmosphere.

Ryzhkov Holds Talks With De Maiziere

LD2904194990 Moscow TASS in English 1833 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 29 TASS—Talks were held in the Kremlin today between Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov and East German Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere.

The two prime ministers discussed the state of, and prospects for, relations between the Soviet Union and East Germany taking into account the forthcoming creation of the currency, economic and social union of the two Germanys.

Ryzhkov stressed that people in the Soviet Union valued the considerable positive potential gained in relations with the German Democratic Republic and the large-scale interaction in the political, economic and humanitarian spheres as well as in international affairs. Broad trade and economic relations, mutual annual supplies of commodities and services, worth many billions of roubles, conditioned a high degree of integration of the two countries' economic complexes. This is a reality impossible to ignore. Hence the need to preserve and develop everything of value that can serve the benefit of the peoples in the two countries.

De Maiziere shared this view and reaffirmed the East German Government's desire to maintain close East German-Soviet business cooperation based on principles of effectiveness and mutual benefit and expressed confidence that the Soviet Union would remain an important political and economic partner both for the German Democratic Republic and for the united Germany.

The two prime ministers favoured allegiance to mutual commitments, including foreign trade. They noted the significance of new forms of production, scientific and technical cooperation and joint ventures, including on a trilateral basis with the participation of West Germany. Confidence was expressed that the formation of new economic models in the two countries and the switching

over to forms of cooperation consistent with world practice will be facilitated by the accelerated transition to settling accounts in bilateral trade in freely convertible currency at current world prices.

The Soviet side expressed interest in the further involvement of East Germany in building integration projects on Soviet territory in accordance with current intergovernmental agreements, as well as in continuing Soviet assistance in building power installations on East German territory with the possible enlisting of West German cooperation in accomplishing these tasks.

The prime ministers stated that during the process of unification of the two Germanys, coordinated solutions must be found taking into account the economic interests of the Soviet Union, including the legal protection of Soviet moveable and immoveable property on East German territory. It was deemed advisable to hold bilateral consultations concerning this set of issues.

Ryzhkov and De Maiziere maintaining close contacts between the Soviet and East German Governments in the interests of mutual understanding concerning topical issues of bilateral relations and the European process.

The talks took place in an atmosphere of mutual trust and openness.

Shevardnadze, Meckel Hold Talks

LD2904204890 Moscow TASS in English 2033 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 29 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze today met East German Foreign Minister Markus Meckel, who accompanied East German Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere on his working visit to the Soviet Union.

Their conversation centered around bilateral relations, their present state and prospects conditioned on the current process of German unification, and external aspects of this process in connection with the two-plus-four negotiations.

The East German foreign minister confirmed the new German Government's commitment to the obligations under the treaties and agreements between the two countries. He said the new East German government was ready to develop bilateral cooperation in the interests of both nations and of peace and security in Europe.

Now that the history has given Germans a chance to build a united Germany, Shevardnadze stressed, it is important to act responsibily in accordance with good sense. Legitimate interests of other nations must be taken into account in order to ensure controlled progress towards unification coordinated with the European-scale process.

Progress towards unity, the two ministers agreed, must not undermine but strengthen the pillars of peace and stability in Europe. Everything must be done to make the united Germany a major factor of continental stability.

The Soviet minister noted in principle the need to ensure legal continuance—the united Germany should carry on the activities begun under the treaties and agreements between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic. Whenever German unification makes expedient a revision or modification of bilateral obligations, this work should be done under mutual agreement.

The ministers discussed the key tasks to be accomplished by the two-plus-four mechanism and stated that its work was of pivotal significance for matching the German right to unification and the interests of European and universal security.

Both sides agreed that decision should be made to ensure the formation of new security structures in Europe without disrupting the present balance of forces. The path towards it lies through the transformation of the existing military-political alliances and the institutionalization of the European process.

Shevardnadze shared with his counterpart specific reflections concerning the forthcoming meeting of the six at the foreign ministerial level in early May. He said he regarded the issues of the united Germany's military-political status, borders and forms of peaceful settlement as the key issues.

The conversation was held in a constructive business-like atmosphere.

Yazov, Eppelmann Discuss Pact, NATO

LD2904100990 Moscow TASS in English 0922 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 29 TASS—By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy:

Soviet Defence Minister Marshal Dmitriy Yazov met his East German counterpart, Rainer Eppelmann, today to discuss German reunification, bilateral relations in the military field, and future relations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

Eppelmann is here with the delegation accompanying Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere.

He expressed his views on security and disarmament in the context of European and pan-German processes, including the issue of a future united Germany's membership of military-political blocs, and on relations between West Germany's Bundeswehr and East Germany's National People's Army in the transitional period.

Yazov voiced concern that a united Germany's membership of NATO may influence the balance of forces in Europe and destabilise international relations.

De Maiziere Holds News Conference

LD2904165990 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere of the German Democratic Republic has described his visit to this country as good and useful, a visit that, as he said, got a businesslike discussion on complicated subjects and reached a great deal of understanding. The prime minister met with President Mikhail Gorbachev and had talks with his Soviet colleague, Nikolay Ryzhkov.

De Maiziere told a news conference in Moscow a unified Germany's military and political status had keynoted his two-hour discussion with the president. According to the prime minister, Mikhail Gorbachev clearly stated a united Germany's NATO membership was unacceptable to this country. De Maiziere said that entering into NATO was connected for the GDR with changes in both the strategy and structures of this alliance. In this connection he called for more talks with Federal Germany and other NATO countries to compromise. De Maiziere pointed out his country took an interest in more large-scale economic ties with this country and he assured the GDR would abide by the agreements reached in this area.

Further on News Conference

LD2904180290 Moscow TASS in English 1743 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 29 TASS—I am returning home from the Soviet Union with fine feelings," East German Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere told a news conference here today.

Speaking before his departure for home after a one-day working visit to Moscow, De Maiziere pointed out first of all that during the talks, the East German side expressed interest in continuing and expanding economic relations with the Soviet Union. Attention was drawn to the need to make currencies convertible. The Soviet side was assured that the previous economic agreements would be observed, De Maiziere said.

The East German prime minister said that during his conversation with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, he stressed that the situation that arose after 1985 as a result of perestroyka, "laid the foundation for a peaceful revolution in the German Democratic Republic and imparted an impulse to disarmament and the normalisation of the internal situation."

The talks focussed on the evolution of the situation in Europe, stabilisation, the CSCE [Conference on Security and Coordination in Europe] process, disarmament, and internal and external aspects of German unification, De Maiziere noted.

He told the news conference that the sides stated the identity of their views on the need to create a universal system of European security.

De Maiziere especially stressed that he had told President Gorbachev that East Germany had no intention to join NATO, as long as "the present doctrine of the North Atlantic bloc" prevailed.

He said that the issue of his country's membership of NATO could be raised only if that organisation "changed its strategy and structure."

NATO must curtail its military functions and turn more towards political and economic issues—disaramament and arms control, the East German prime minister said.

"Our aim," he stressed in closing, "is unification of the nation."

Prime Minister Departs Moscow

LD2904170790 Moscow TASS in English 1659 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 29 TASS—By TASS diplomatic corespondent:

East German Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere left Moscow in the afternoon today. During his one-day working visit to the Soviet Union, he met President Mikhail Gorbachev and held talks with Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov.

The East German prime minister told a news conference before his departure that he found the first visit of an East German governmental delegation to another country after the new cabinet was formed important and useful.

The fact that it was a visit to Moscow, De Maiziere said, attests to the importance we attach to our relations with the Soviet Union.

Lothar De Maiziere Grants Media Interviews

Moscow Radio Airs Interview

LD2904205890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Report on interview with GDR Premier Lothar de Maiziere by political observer Aleksandr Zholkver; date and place not given; De Maiziere speaks in German with superimposed Russian translation—recorded]

[Text] [De Maiziere] This is the first foreign visit of our governmental delegation and I would like this visit to be a signal to the Soviet people. Its aim is to show the enormous importance we attach to the close relations between our countries.

Until the last events of the past autumn, we worked on the assumption that the German question should be decided in close connection with the question of Europe's future. But the radical changes that happened in the GDR led to a situation in which the German unification process is happening faster that the process of creating a peaceful order in Europe. That is why we

are forced to search for a model for the transitional period. Many different options are being discussed now. We are talking about the neutrality of a united Germany, but this does not seem like a viable option for us. The model of a united Germany's membership in NATO with a special status for present GDR territory was also suggested. I think that some thinking should be done here on how it would look in concrete terms.

Questions of disarmament, moving away from the military bloc structures, and the transition to a system of political union are being proposed now. Our aim is not to move the blocs, but to overcome them. And the so-called "two plus four" mechanism of the two German states and four victorious nations is called on precisely to discuss the international aspects of German unity. As for the borders of a unified Germany, the GDR People's Chamber in its first sitting after the 18 March elections declared that it will proceed from the absolute inviolability of Poland's western border. The same declaration was made by the FRG parliament.

[Zholkver] During my conversation with the GDR prime minister I did not hide from him that in a large number of letters which we receive from our listeners anxiety is expressed at GDR right-wing radical forces' actions. Our people are especially indignant about the violation of Soviet soldiers' graves. This, de Maiziere said, is also a cause of worry for them and they have undertaken energetic measures for their security. Concluding the interview, Lothar de Maiziere, head of the GDR Government, said:

[De Maiziere] We consider relations with the Soviet Union as a big asset which we would like to bring into a united Germany. Our enterprises are very interested in preserving ties with the Soviet Union. About 35 percent of our country's workers are engaged in enterprises which export to the Soviet Union. The USSR is our most important trade partner and should remain so.

TASS Queries De Maiziere

LD2804143390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2055 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin, 28 Apr (TASS)—TASS correspondent Vadim Chudov reports: On the eve of his visit to the Soviet Union, Lothar de Maziere, the GDR prime minister, gave an interview to a TASS correspondent:

[TASS] Mr. Prime Minister, the current visit to the USSR by the head of the GDR Government is qualitatively different from previous ones. Until now these have been visits by leading representatives of one country to another who, however, belonged to one social system. Do you agree with this, and what results do you expect from this visit?

[De Maiziere] Significant changes have occurred in the Soviet Union itself since 1985. I see that a gradual transition to pluralism is also underway there, and the renunciation of command-administrative methods in the economy. Only in the USSR, this process is taking longer since, first, it is possible that there are fewer bourgeois-democratic traditions there, and second, because in such a large country there are incomparably greater problems. Recalling M.S. Gorbachev's last visit to our country, I could not say that despite the words about a single social system, such a unity was really felt. At that time the famous remark was pronounced about the fact that history punishes those who do not react in time. The changed situation in the GDR changes nothing in the relations which have traditionally taken shape between our countries. The Soviet Union is our major foreign trade partner, just as the GDR is also its major partner. Very close relations exist in many spheres of life. We hope to improve them. First of all, between people and not only between organizations. We also expect the same from meetings between church representatives. During our visit, we want to show that the process of German unification is not a braking factor on the road to pan-European development, but, on the contrary, it increases opportunities for integration. Each of the German states is faced with the task of rallying their friends and allies in the name of the effectiveness of the pan-European process.

[TASS] How, from your point of view, does the process of German unification correspond with the pan-European process?

[De Maiziere] They should happen synchronously. Since the first is leaving the second behind, this synchrony is not assured. On the other hand, German unification should not lag behind the pan-European process; this would lead to destabilization. The necessity for elaborating transitional models up to the creation of a pan-European security system ensues from the greater pace of the German unification process. And this will be the main task facing the participants in the "2-plus-4" formula talks. A demilitarization process must occur in both military-political alliances. I hope, very much, that there will be successes in Vienna and at the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit meeting—these successes will create the basis for the transitional models.

[TASS] In your government statement, the necessity for intensifying political cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Pact was stressed. How do you see this? What new features will the German unification process introduce to the bilateral economic cooperation between the GDR and the USSR?

[De Maiziere] I believe that at Warsaw Pact forums, military issues should to a greater and greater extent cede to political ones. Both military alliances have lost the enemy image. However, the necessity for joint political action on the issues of creating joint inter-system security structures, conversion and arms control, has not been lost. Perhaps it would be worthwhile to introduce the practice of regular conferences between the foreign ministers of countries participating in the Helsinki process, defense ministers and so on. I am convinced that it is necessary to cooperate at the parliamentary level more

actively than hitherto. It is necessary now, already, to think about how to guarantee the operation of accords in the sphere of economic cooperation between the GDR and other Warsaw Pact member states, in the period which will begin after the unification of Germany as well. The Soviet Union has already long been in favor of granting broad-based rights in economic cooperation between our countries to the enterprises themselves, but our previous leadership hampered this. We, on the contrary, entirely support this idea. The transition to a social market economy will create many problems for our enterprises, and they have an interest in stable opportunities for the sale of their products.

[TASS] According to one recent opinion poll, more than 60 percent of Soviet citizens support the idea of German unity, but the same number do not approve of its membership of any military alliance. What do you think about this?

[De Maiziere] I think that the picture of a neutral Germany does not meet the spirit of the times, but is most probably a picture from the old "bloc" mode of thinking. It would just preserve the military blocs between which a neutral Germany would formally exist. We need a pan-European system of security—until this is created there should be no NATO forces on the territory of the GDR. This is our position.

De Maziere Speaks to NEW TIMES

PM2704155890 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No. 16, 17-23 Apr 90 pp 8-9

[Undated interview with GDR Prime Minister Lothar de Maziere by Mikhail Podvigin: "Lothar de Maziere: Unity of Germany—an Element of European Unity"]

[Text] Berlin—NEW TIMES [N.T.]. In the opinion of many news analysts it was the West German mark which won the election to the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic. Are the G.D.R. citizens expecting "golden times"? What do you think about the present situation in the G.D.R. and what tasks seem most urgent for your government?

Lothar de Maiziere [L.M.]. The election returns have demonstrated the great desire of the G.D.R. citizens for the unity of their country. The striving for unity is also linked with their natural desire to achieve the living standards and quality of life existing in the Federal Republic. The majority of citizens understand that they will have to work hard for this purpose. But people also know that their labour will be valued again. Not golden but simply normal life will come. The present situation in the G.D.R. is abnormal in almost every sphere. It is now that we see the material and moral damage caused to the republic during 40 years of the economic and ideological mess. The new government is faced with two important tasks: first, to put our house in order in the best possible way and, second, to chart with Bonn a road to unification that would not be detrimental to the citizens of both German states and would not burden Germany's neighbours.

N.T. You hinted right after the election that you intend to offer Elmar Pieroth, a West Berlin deputy from the Christian Democratic Union, the post of economics minister in the new government. What has prompted your decision? Does it mean that in the G.D.R. you did not find a competent politician who could improve its economy?

L.M. In the field of economic policy it is advisable to have specialists who have learned from their own practical experience, not from books only, how the market economy, socially protected and ecologically committed, works. A sound restructuring of the G.D.R. economy and its adaptation to the West German economy can be effected only by experts who feel at home in both Germanys as a result of their origin and their present position. it would be equally good, for instance, if specialists from the G.D.R. recieved an opportunity to work in the economics ministry of the Federal Republic.

N.T. What role do you assign to the opposition parties in the People's Chamber which represent the interests of a fairly large section of the G.D.R. population? Do you see the possibility of a constructive dialogue with these parties?

L.M. We want to form a broad coalition government that would represent the interests of a great majority of the G.D.R. population, and hope for a constructive dialogue with the opposition. We need not confrontation, harangue and recrimination, but joint work for the sake of a secure peaceful future.

N.T. At a press conference after the elections to the People's Chamber you said in reply to my question that you attach decisive importance to relations between the G.D.R. and the Soviet Union. Could you elaborate on that?

L.M. The Soviet Union is our main partner in the Warsaw Treaty Organization. We must advance together, or in concert with each other, on the road to European security. The Soviet Union is now our major trade partner. An economic union we are trying to achieve with the Federal Republic must take this fact into account. The G.D.R. and the Soviet Union have a common dramatic past. We shall feel only now how deeply we have accepted the Soviet Union, the culture of its peoples, its town and country, its literature and arts, its history, achievements and hardships. I think we shall be able to build a new German-Soviet friendship for all Germans in conditions of freedom. I am sure there will be a positive response on the part of the Soviet Union too.

Mikhail Gorbachev's policy serves as an essential boost to such a development. The impulse he has given to world history has led to the liberation of East European peoples and, in fact, the entire world from the erroneous

model of socialism. We know that we are indebted to him and on this basis we offer the Soviet peoples our voluntary friendship. Only good relations of trust with the Soviet Union will help us advance towards building a peaceful European home in which all its inhabitants would enjoy equal rights and jointly work for the cause of world peace and justice.

N.T. The G.D.R. is a member of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. How will your government fulfil the commitments arising from the membership of this organization?

L.M. We regard the Warsaw Treaty commitments as commitments for the maintenance and strengthening of peace. We are going to fulfil this task by placing the Warsaw Treaty's political functions over its military ones. In our opinion, the problem of a united Germany's allied relations could be solved not through expanding NATO's present military structure but through establishing an European security system that would eliminate the present confrontation between alliances.

N.T. The G.D.R. and the Soviet Union have close foreign economic ties. How promising is this cooperation for you? Will it be possible to organize large-scale and interconnected trilateral cooperation between the Soviet Union, the G.D.R. and the Federal Republic, as well as between the Soviet Union, the G.D.R. and West Berlin?

L.M. The process of European integration calls for expanding, not limiting, economic cooperation between all parts of a united Germany and the Soviet Union. Inasmuch as far-reaching changes are now taking place not only in our but also in your economy, I hope that many new opportunities will appear. We have no intention to shift any iron curtain from the Elbe to the Oder.

N.T. What do you think about the Soviet Government's statement regarding the questions of property in the G.D.R.? Do you share the opinion that the property relations created in the G.D.R. after the Second World War must not be challenged?

L.M. It is our firm opinion that the property relations which appeared right after the war must be preserved. If someone was not treated justly then, this cannot be remedied today by a new injustice. By the way, we remain faithful to the anti-fascist commitment of our state. However, we add an anti-Stalinist commitment to it. This does not convey any hostility towards the Soviet Union. Its people suffered no less under Stalin and his system than the people of the G.D.R. did.

N.T. Rapprochement between the two German states on the road to unity is causing anxiety in some countries. What do you think in this connection of the idea of concluding a peace treaty or a similar international document in order to close this chapter in world history?

L.M. We hope that the agreements to be reached at the 2+4 negotiations and a summit conference on European security and cooperation will remove the natural anxiety of Germany's neighbours. It will be a good idea to formalize these agreements in a peace treaty. It is the German's duty to restore their state in such a way as to show that they have drawn a lesson from history. Only peace should come from German soil. The unity of Germany must become an element contributing to the unity of Europe.

N.T. There is an opinion that now, after the elections, the 2+4 conference could be reduced to a 1+4 formula. Does the G.D.R. have its own special interests it would like to defend independently at the negotiating table?

L.M. I think it will be good if at these negotiations the G.D.R. expresses its own opinion even when its interests do not differ or differ little from those of the F.R.G. We are going to bring our history into these negotiations. This is what the F.R.G. cannot do instead of us.

N.T. How do you visualize a united Germany? What place must it take in the international community?

L.M. A united Germany should hold a modest place in the international community. This results from our history. Perhaps it will be able to serve as a bridge between East and West, that is, to erect a bridge instead of a wall. Our history may impel us to do that too. But, first of all, a united Germany must use its economic potentialities for the solution of major world problems. International justice, the combating of hunger, and the overcoming of the ecological challenge are important peaceful tasks of the future.

Kohl, Vogel Cited on Bonn FRG-GDR Meeting

PM2704102090 Moscow TRUD in Russian 26 Apr 90 p 3

[TASS report: "On GDR-FRG Relations"]

[Text] Bonn, 25 Apr—The working meeting held in Bonn between FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl and GDR Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere was devoted to the problems of forming a monetary, economic, and social union of the two German states and concluding a corresponding state treaty between them.

Answering journalists' questions after the meeting, the chancellor expressed satisfaction with the results achieved and announced that a good basis has been created for future talks. The sides agreed that the aforementioned union should be formed no later than 2 July this year. The chancellor said that the economic situation in the FRG greatly favors the attainment of German unity now. If there is a delay in the formation of monetary union, he said, this could again lead to an increase in the influx of settlers to the FRG from the GDR.

L. de Maiziere stated that decisions were not taken at the meeting concerning Bonn's proposal on a state treaty. This, he added, will require a whole series of talks.

Dieter Vogel, deputy official spokesman for the FRG Government, told journalists at a press conference that concrete questions relating to the formation of monetary union will be discussed at official talks at expert level.

Vogel described as "reasonable and just" the Bonn ruling coalition's proposal to establish a one-to-one exchange rate between the GDR and FRG marks in the context of monetary union. This will apply to wages, pensions, and also savings of up to 4,000 GDR marks per person.

However, local observers note that the formation of monetary union could have negative consequences for citizens of both the GDR and the FRG. Even with a one-to-one exchange rate wages in the GDR will be considerably lower than in the FRG.

Albanian Leadership's 'Realistic Approach' Viewed

PM2804190190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Apr 90 Second Edition p 5

[V. Tanin article: "Albania: A Step Toward Meeting Half-Way"]

[Text] A few days ago R. Alia, first secretary of the Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee and chairman of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania People's Assembly Presidium, delivered a detailed account of the Albanian leadership's views on international problems at a plenum of the Central Committee. His statements on the new guidelines of Albania's foreign policy activity and its new approaches to participation in all-European processes have attracted attention in the capitals of European states and become the subject of lively commentaries.

In keeping with the spirit of the times and Albania's interests, the plenum admitted the need for Albania's involvement in multilateral cooperation in Europe and in the quest for a new security structure on the continent. This gives reason to assume that the day is not too distant when Albania will become a participant in the all-European forums which it has so far avoided. It is also very likely that Tirana will take definite steps in the near future to establish official contacts with the "Common Market," and possibly also with other European economic structures.

Moscow was of course especially interested in the interest expressed by R. Alia in a practical examination of the problem of restoring diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. As is known, relations were broken off in the early sixties as a result of the projection of ideological differences which had arisen at that time between the CPSU and the AWP into the sphere of interstate ties.

The Albanian leadership has, unquestionably, demonstrated a realistic approach in the question of regularizing relations with the USSR. This is borne out by R. Alia's statement that "relations between states can be normal and fruitful only if the fundamental principles of equality, noninterference, mutual respect for freedom, independence, and sovereignty, and mutually advantageous cooperation are observed." These are principles to which the Soviet Union is unconditionally committed and on the basis of which it is ready, as it has said before, to restore and develop relations with Albania. This was again clearly stated at a recent briefing at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center.

An incontrovertible standard of the Soviet Union's relations with foreign countries is the unconditional recognition of the right of each people to a freedom of choice. R. Alia also expressed himself in the same vein, noting that "the choice of social system is the sovereign right of every people and that no one has a right to interfere in this."

It was emphasized at the AWP Central Committee Plenum that "if the Soviet Union really changes its position in respect of Albania, we have no reason not to receive this with benevolence." The formulation chosen by the Albanian leader can clearly be understood as an unambiguous hint that it is necessary to make an objective assessment of the causes which led to the disruption of Soviet-Albanian relations in the early sixties.

The need to restore the historical truth and to sort out without any prejudice the twists and turns of a complex period in relations between the Soviet Union and Albania is long overdue. Without this, a mutual cleansing and overcoming of the period of alienation is impossible. Truth, and only the truth about why friendship ties and equitable and mutually advantageous cooperation between the Soviet and the Albanian people were disrupted can contribute to a return to normal relations between them and an atmosphere of mutual trust which characterized them for many years after the war.

R. Alia said in his speech that "we will respond to friendship with friendship." People in Albania may rest assured that this stance is meeting with the warmest response among Soviet people.

West Europe

Mitterrand, Kohl Appeal to Landsbergis Quoted

PM2704152990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Dispatch by IZVESTIYA correspondent Yu. Kovalenko under the rubric "Abroad": "Appeal to Reason"]

[Text] Paris—On 26 April, President Mitterrand of France and Chancellor Kohl of the FRG sent a joint message to Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, containing a call to begin talks with Moscow as soon as possible to find ways to overcome the crisis, and to that end to suspend implementation of the decisions adopted by the Lithuanian parliament. Mitterrand and Kohl have informed M.S. Gorbachev about their message.

Here is the full text of the letter sent by the two political leaders at the Franco-West German summit in Paris:

"Mr Chairman,

"We express our concern at the change in the situation in Lithuania.

"We wanted you to know that.

"The Lithuanian people have unambiguously demonstrated their readiness to exercise their right to sovereignty.

"They cannot be criticized for that.

"But history has produced a complex situation composed of many elements of a political, legal, and economic character. The search for a solution will take time and patience and must follow the classic path of dialogue.

"Therefore we want talks to begin between the Soviet authorities and you as soon as possible in order to find a solution to the present crisis that is acceptable to all sides.

"To ensure the opening of these talks, it would probably be expedient to temporarily suspend the action of the decisions adopted by your parliament, which will lose none of their significance because they are based on a universally recognized principle: the principle of the self-determination of the peoples.

"We greet you, Mr Chairman, and express our feelings of sympathy, as well as our best wishes to your fellow countrymen.

"Francois Mitterrand, Helmut Kohl."

This message from the French and FRG leaders to the chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet has been viewed here as unconditional support for Gorbachev and a desire on the part of Western leaders to give him all possible assistance in the search for a solution to the conflict. Mitterrand and Kohl, the Parisian press notes, appeal to Landsbergis for prudence, restraint, and compromise, which meet common interests and do not jeopardize the processes of perestroyka in the Soviet Union. In this instance, observers stress, one should be guided not by emotions but by reason.

"How would you answer those who fear that the West's present attitude toward events in Lithuania will lead to a new Munich?"—that question was put jointly to the French President and the FRG Chancellor at the news conference at the end of the Paris meeting. (I would note that recently this analogy has appeared frequently in the press here.)

"There can be no comparison," Mitterrand stated, "between the policy that Gorbachev has been pursuing for the past few years and Hitler's conduct at the time that the Munich agreement was concluded. We are presumably not on the eve of war nor are we dealing with a victorious imperialism.... The Soviet Union is now adapting to the new conditions in the face of extraordinary difficulties. And no one—particularly the Lithuanians—stands to gain from the destruction of what is now being created or from a return to tension, which may have unpredictable results."

"That is why we advocate dialogue," the French president continued, "but for that to resume it is necessary—principles are principles and the Lithuanians, like everyone else, of course, are entitled to resolve themselves the questions affecting them—to freeze the contradictions and begin talks after defining the means of achieving the goal and setting dates. In brief, there must be talks."

The FRG chancellor fully supported Mitterand's statement and in turn stated that "dialogue is necessary now. I do not think that it would be sensible to create tension which, from the very outset, would hinder the conduct of genuine discussion. Look at how the situation is developing in Eastern and southeastern Europe... Without the policy of perestroyka the events which have taken place in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other countries would have been impossible. This is an important factor and thus it is now necessary to begin frank talks. I consider the comparison with Munich inappropriate."

Shevardnadze on Germany's Military, Political Role

LD2704213790 Moscow TASS in English 2102 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—"The most important thing is probably to devise a military and political status for a united Germany which would not radically tip the balance," Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said in an interview published in the IRISH TIMES newspaper today.

He emphasised that "this can be achieved fully if Germany becomes a militarily non-aligned state whose armed forces would have a potential sufficient only for defence purposes."

"The other guarantee, the significance of which is hard to overestimate is, that the movement toward a united Germany should be combined with the efforts to create all-European security arrangements," Shevardnadze pointed out.

He also recalled that the present military and political structures "were shaped not for a united Germany, but for two German states belonging, moreover, to different alliances."

"The prospect of the German unification is an important incentive for radically re-shaping the present European security arrangements, in fact, for creating them anew.

"In any case, it would be a mistake to destroy the existing security systems in the course of building the German unity, without creating new ones to replace them," Shevardnadze said.

Touching upon a future Germany's affiliation with military blocs, the Soviet foreign minister pointed out that "the membership of a united Germany in NATO is unacceptable to us, since it would mean a radical disruption of the current balance of forces in Europe."

"We must seek together other solutions that would not lead to anyone's diminished security. Such solutions can be secured if we show realism and mutual respect for the interests of the sides."

In this connection he again returned to the idea of the dual membership of a united Germany in NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. "Because this is an unconventional suggestion, does not mean at all that it is unrealistic," Shevardnadze said.

"The idea of 'dual membership' not only could help resolve one of the most difficult questions that arises in connection with the unification of Germany but also constitute a practical step towards creating all-European security arrangements.

"The territory of Germany would thereby be turned into a 'testing ground' for a constructive interaction between alliances, a place where they would be gradually dissolved," he emphasised.

Touching upon the functioning of "two plus four mechanism" Shevardnadze said: "We share the approach of those states who believe that the results of the work of 'the six' must be reviewed at a CSCE participating countries summit conference and, possibly, approved by them."

In answer to a question about the Soviet Union's relationships with the European communities, "we value especially the support on the part of the EC to our initiative about convening a summit conference of the CSCE participating countries in 1990. [no close quotation mark as received]

He spoke of the Soviet side's readiness for the most active cooperation with "the twelve" in the practical preparation and holding of this conference and imparting a qualitatively new impulse to the development of the CSCE conference as a whole.

Shevardnadze also recalled that the proposals by the country's leadership about the establishment of an all-European council, composed of heads of state, a CSCE committee of ministers of foreign affairs, and a military risk prevention centre.

He went on to say that "the current changes in Europe are a good premise to ensure that both political and economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and the European communities reaches a qualitatively new level."

"In the circumstances where there is an incipient rapprochement between the East and the West of the European continent, we believe it possible and realistic to set the goal of channelling our political dialogue with the European communities toward a gradual transition from a mere exchange of views and comparison of positions to practical interaction and partnership in consolidating the positive changes in Europe and in the world at large."

Shevardnadze believes that the Soviet Union and "the twelve" could co-sponsor many concrete ideas and steps toward creating a European commonwealth in the 21st century.

Yeltsin in London To Launch Autobiography

LD2704225590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2140 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Correspondent V. Shishkovskiy report; from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin is in London. The Soviet parliamentarian's trip to London is connected with the publication in Britain of his autobiography. Comrade Yeltsin was invited to participate in the launch. This book is causing great interest in Britain, which was confirmed by today's press conference, at which, naturally, difficulties on the path of perestroyka and democratization in the Soviet Union were discussed. [video shows London street scenes, Yeltsin at a press conference]

Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin was received by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in her residence at 10 Downing Street. [video shows Yeltsin and Thatcher posing for cameras]

Royalties from the publication of the Yeltsin book will be handed over to the fund for the fight against AIDS.

Thatcher, Yeltsin Discuss Reforms

LD2704174490 Moscow TASS in English 1720 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] London April 27 TASS—British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, receiving today people's deputy of the USSR Boris Yeltsin, stated her support for the process of reforms in the Soviet Union.

Describing these reforms as "historic", Thatcher pointed out that they are opening a new era in East-West relations.

Supreme Soviet Session

Supreme Soviet Session To Open Early 28 Apr

LD2804045790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0200 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet session will continue its work in Moscow today. A joint session will start at 0900 [0500 GMT] instead of the usual 1000. Deputies need to complete the drawing up of the draft law on pensions for USSR citizens. There was no agreement reached on this issue yesterday, due to the absence of a quorum.

Moscow Radio Carries 28 Apr Supreme Soviet Session

Lukyanov Chairs Session

LD2804175990

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 28 April begins carrying a recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet session 28 April at the Kremlin in Moscow. The session is chaired by Anatoliy Lukyanov.

Lukyanov opens the session and registers attendance. Yesterday's proceedings are reviewed: Delegates from Lithuania and Estonia had reconsidered their legitimacy as USSR Supreme Soviet deputies; a decision had been adopted on standing orders of chambers and on quorum, in that deputies can be excluded from the number of the quorum if they feel that they cannot vote on a certain issue.

At 1509 GMT Deputies Shchelkanov and Filshin express their views on quorum. Another deputy favors Lukyanov's proposal. A deputy asks: How can we adopt a decision on what represents a quorum when we are not in quorum? Lukyanov assures him that the session is in quorum.

At 1525 GMT Deputy Yudin says the session has no right to alter something so fundamental as the procedure for establishing a quorum. Lukyanov reads the draft decisions and asks the deputies to register once again. There is a vote and the decision is adopted.

At 1530 GMT the discussion turns to the draft law on taxation of cooperatives, enterprises, and organizations. Yesterday's discussion of the bill is summed up by Deputy Kucherenko, as well as proposals made by Deputy Khadzhiyev on amortization deductions, salary taxation thresholds, turnover tax, and value added tax. Deputy Filshin's contribution to the debate is criticized; he had criticized the work of a commission in which he had not taken part.

At 1545 GMT Finance Minister Pavlov begins to speak. He gives reassurances that the transition to a market economy will be coordinated.

At 1550 GMT Lukyanov submits to a vote whether those present constitute a quorum to vote on this proposal. This bill is to be voted on: It is adopted by the Soviet of the Union, but in the Soviet of Nationalities it is 11 votes short, even with the new quorum procedure.

Lukyanov then suggests moving on to the draft law on pensions. A deputy intervenes to propose that the law on pensions for servicemen be discussed in parallel with that on pensions for civilians. Lukyanov appeals for observance of the agreed procedures.

At 1608 GMT Deputy (?Gorinov) presents a report on the bill and explains some of its aspects.

At 1623 GMT Lukyanov proposes moving to the issue of civilian pensions but (?Gorinov) has more to add on the military first. He asks that the right for servicemen to opt for either a military or a civilian pension be retained and explains what would be the outlook for each choice. Lukyanov then asks how the debate should proceed: on the issue as a whole, or on each article of the draft law? Deputy Neumyvakin asks to speak on the main law rather than the military law, with reference to the blind. He is silenced by objections from the floor. Lukyanov puts to the vote the USSR draft law on military pensions with amendments from the commissions and those just appended: passed by the Soviet of the Union, passed by the Soviet of Nationalities. The result is met with applause.

At 1632 GMT Deputy Obolenskiy takes the floor. He says that the nature of military service should impinge upon the pension law and that the article relating to this should undergo more careful working.

At 1634 GMT Deputy (?Gorinov) for the committee does not want any further delay in application of the law.

At 1635 GMT Deputy Akhromeyev objects to Obolenskiy's proposed amendment on the grounds that such differences of service are reflected in servicemen's wages, the higher salary for example of those serving on submarines. Lukyanov calls for a vote on Obolenskiy's motion: the proposal is rejected.

At 1637 GMT Deputy Podziruk talks about an amendment for pensions for special service.

At 1638 GMT Lukyanov puts to the vote a decision on application of the law: It is accepted.

Pension Law Discussed

LD2804185190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1641 GMT on 28 April continues carrying a recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet session 28 April at the Kremlin in Moscow.

Deputy Martirosyan moves to the microphone. He offers thanks from the entire Armed Forces for the trust the Supreme Soviet has shown them in passing the pension law. Please do the same for civilians, he asks.

At 1644 GMT another vote is called for: Both the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities adopt the law.

At 1648 GMT the station announcer announces a 15-minute break.

At 1704 GMT the recording resumes and Lukyanov returns to taxation, confirming that yesterday's decision was not adopted by either chamber and announcing its deferral until the first day after the May holidays.

At 1705 GMT Kucherenko asks that the committee be entrusted with working on this.

Returning to pensions, and those of society at large, Lukyanov asks that contributions be concise and to the point. The version of the law submitted by the deputies' commission is to be examined first in the draft already approved. Lukyanov asks for amendments to each article in turn.

At 1709 GMT Deputy Annamukhamedov asks whether mothers with five or more children will have special pension rights, a matter of concern for deputies from Central Asia and the Caucasus.

A commission deputy chairman notes that benefits are included in the law for mothers of many children and for "hero-mothers." Beyond that, the details are for the republics to decide, because the concept of a large family varies from place to place. Annamukhamedov's amendment is put to the vote and is rejected.

At 1714 GMT Deputy Neumyvakin is invited to the microphone on the matter of pensions for those all who are "incapable of working." This formulation is not acceptable to Neumyvakin.

At 1716 GMT Deputy Shcherbakov urges the deputies not to allow ambiguity into the law by removing the wording already given of "all those who are incapable of working." A commission spokesman shares this view. It is decided to vote on Neumayvakin's proposal: The amendment is not adopted. Lukyanov acknowledges Neumyvakin's services to the handicapped and wishes him well. This is met with applause.

At 1720 GMT Lukyanov returns to his enumeration of the articles in the draft law. Deputy (?Pal) and Deputy Malkova raise the matter of the wording in the article, referring to compulsory insurance contributions and objecting to the word "compulsory."

Deputy Korenov for the Transport and Communications Committee is also unhappy about the inclusion of the word "compulsory" and indeed about the inclusion of insurance contributions here at all, he says.

At 1724 GMT Deputy Gritsenko approaches the microphone to explain the issue of insurance contributions. It is already a controversial issue, for the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions for instance. The question is whether these payments will be in addition to income tax or whether income tax will fall to accommodate them.

Lukyanov insists that deputies must not come to the microphone purely to comment; they must have proposals to offer.

At 1727 GMT an unidentified deputy objects to the inclusion of the entire article on insurance contributions. Deputy (?Abdullayeva) does not object to the insurance contributions as such, but she wants to know how the Ministry of Finances feels.

At 1728 GMT a government spokesman takes the floor. He notes that pension insurances can be voluntary. Thus it cannot, therefore, be excluded from the law altogether.

Pension Amendments Voted on

LD2804202990

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1730 GMT on 28 April continues carrying a recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet session 28 April at the Kremlin in Moscow.

Lukyanov says the main positions have been expressed and puts the proposal concerning obligatory insurance contributions to a vote. Other points of view are put forward.

At 1740 GMT an all-union trade unions secretary asks for the proposal not to be adopted. There are countries with market economies without obligatory insurance contributions. The proposal has not been properly worked out, she says. A government spokesman explains the significance of obligatory and voluntary insurance contributions.

At 1747 GMT Deputy Ivashko points out that the tax burden upon citizens has already been increased considerably. Deputy (?Sobchak) says the extent of the financial burden is beside the point; it is the issue that is at stake.

At 1750 GMT Lukyanov says that the future of the whole law is in question if this issue is not satisfactorily cleared up. He again says that he is putting to a vote whether the word 'obligatory' should be struck out: The proposal is rejected.

At 1800 GMT the discussion moves on to an article concerning voluntary insurance. The government spokesman offers his explanation of the article. An amendment suggested by Deputy Obolenskiy is rejected. An amendment proposed by Deputy Boldyrev is also rejected.

At 1817 GMT Deputy Voskoboynikov presents a case for privileged treatment regarding insurance contributions for air traffic controllers. Lukyanov reveals that he has been contacted by miners requesting the same status. Voskoboynikov wants this to be discussed separately. A vote is taken and it is decided in the meantime to move on to those caring for the handicapped. Emphasis is

placed on the fact that fathers caring for handicapped children should also benefit from special provisions; this does not apply to fathers of many children.

At 1832 GMT Golik objects to voting on a proposal which everyone knows will be rejected. It is embarrassing. Nonetheless the motion goes to the vote: The article remains unaltered.

Lukyanov returns once again to his enumeration of the articles.

At 1835 GMT Deputy Golik asks for an examination of the life expectancy of the little peoples of the north—a well-documented group—with regard to the likelihood of their ever enjoying their pension rights. The commission spokesman acknowledges the need for a flexible approach and differentiation between regions in which it is known life expectancy varies. This ethnic aspect of the law has not been fully worked out yet. For the government, the spokesman points out that republics can decide this for themselves.

At 1842 GMT a vote on Golik's amendment is held: There is no announcement of the result.

At 1843 GMT Deputy Obolenskiy says that one article encourages those in dangerous and heavy work to overwork in the hope of extra pension benefits, because it stipulates increases depending on the length of service. Deputy Katilevskiy objects to Obolenskiy's remarks. He prefers the version enshrined in the draft. The government spokesman expresses support for the draft as it stands. Obolenskiy's motion is put to the vote.

At 1850 GMT Nikolaychuk calls for a review of article 20 and asks for special benefits for those who work in the far north and who continue to work after the age of 50. The commission spokesman explains that the northern deputies have been offered the choice of retaining the benefits currently available and notes that these are only paid to those who move to the far north, rather than those born there. Nikolaychuk's motion will not make people stay on in the far north, the spokesman says. Nikolaychuk's motion is put to the vote: the result is not announced.

Pension Discussion Discontinued

LD2804204790

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1856 GMT on 28 April continues carrying a recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet session 28 April at the Kremlin in Moscow.

A deputy asks that women who were in the active military service during WWII should have their pensions increased. The military pensions law specifically consigned this matter to the civilian pensions law. The commission spokesman says that there is one norm for everyone, there can be no distinctions of gender or anything else. The deputy points out that there are many such women and outlines the work they have done. A vote is taken and no change is made to the draft.

At 1901 GMT Deputy Druz moves a proposal to increase pensions for war veterans in poor general health. It was a motion he had hoped to have adopted by the time of the 45th victory anniversary. A vote is taken.

At 1910 GMT the commission spokesman talks about restrictions on pensions payments to those still working after retirement. Complications may arise for teachers and doctors. Deputy Doga's proposal on this is put to a vote: It is not adopted.

At 1914 GMT Deputy Rakhmanova takes the floor on behalf of those caring for children in family children's homes. The commission spokesman comments that in addition to assistance from the Children's Fund, these people are paid a salary. Put to the vote, the amendment fails.

At 1918 GMT a deputy says that if a pensioner, who has work of any kind, falls ill, his financial situation is likely to deteriote. This deputy calls for altered wording to cater for such an eventuality. The commission spokesman is surprised to find that this paragraph is still in the draft.

At 1921 GMT the all-union trade union deputy enters into the debate with the government spokesmen on the issue of pensioners if their health fails. Others take up the debate. It ends with a vote which leads to rejection by the Soviet of Nationalities and because the Soviet of the Union has adopted it, the Soviet of Nationalities must vote again.

At 1930 GMT both chambers vote to strike out Part 3 of Article 24.

At 1931 GMT an unidentified deputy proposes that all pensioners should be paid a work pension in full.

At 1940 GMT the announcer says that because there was no quorum after the break, discussion of the law was not resumed. Instead, deputies talked about various matters, congratulated each other on the coming holiday and departed for their respective contituencies. The Supreme Soviet is to resume its work on 11 May.

Decision To Gain Quorum Adopted

LD2804064990

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0500 GMT on 28 April begins coverage of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

At 0537 GMT Nikiforov reports that today, the last day of work before the brief parliamentary recess, the deputies are to adopt decisions on two draft laws, on taxation of enterprises and on pensions. Yesterday, he says, there was no quorum, nor was there today. He reports: "Given this, Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov decided to adopt first thing this morning, at 0900 (0500 GMT), a decision on

determining the quorums of the chambers for adopting decisions." There was no quorum today, "and given this, the chairmen of the chambers gave data on the fact that declarations had come in, among others from people's deputies of Lithuania, on resigning their powers, and from people's deputies of the Estonian republic on suspending their participation in the work of the Supreme Soviet. There are in all 18 such deputies from Lithuania and Estonia. There are also declarations from a number of deputies who cannot take part in the work of the Supreme Soviet for reasons of illness; one must say, though, that there are few such deputies." Nikiforov continues on to say that various opinions have been expressed as to why there is no quorum, with some people suggesting deputies are tired after the two months of work, or that the forthcoming holidays have had their effect. He continues: "There may be some more serious reasons. But in any event, in accordance with the Standing Rules, the Supreme Soviet has the right to resolve issues relating to making changes in the work of the Supreme Soviet. In connection with this, a decision was put forward today on issues relating to determining a quorum. I shall try to cite as accurately as possible what Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov said about what the decision proposes, namely, to prescribe that during examination of individual issues, the Supreme Soviet or its chambers may adopt in each individual case decisions on excluding from the quorum the number of votes of members of the Supreme Soviet or the relevant chamber who have announced their refusal or inability to participate. I want to draw attention to the fact that such exclusions will be involved only if a personal declaration is given by a deputy."

The announcer asks: "In this case, it is evidently deputies from some Baltic republics that are meant?"

Nikiforov concurs, adding that deputies who have personal reasons, such as illness, for not participating may also be involved. He adds: "I should like to stress the fact that it is not a question of excluding deputies from the membership of the Supreme Soviet, but of excluding them from the voting quorum only in each individual case, and given their own personal declaration." There were objections, Nikiforov comments, citing Deputy Filshin against the decision, but, the decision is adopted by a simple vote, with 256 votes for, 55 against, and 42 abstentions. Nikiforov says that discussion of the draft law on taxation of enterprises is now under way, since the session can now adopt decisions.

Supreme Soviet Adopts Quorum, Pension Decisions

LD2804123390

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0800 GMT on 28 April carries a report by correspondent Olga Vasilenko on the work of the 28 April session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. After recounting details of the decision to exclude some deputies from the voting quorum, which are covered in the referent item, Vasilenko goes on to note:

"Filshin had serious objections. For instance, the laws being passed are too insubstantial. And the point is not that there is no quorum, but disagreement with the concept. As you understand, what is being referred is the law on taxes on enterprises. That is why deputies are not taking part in the voting. Samarin doubted whether it was possible to adopt a decision on the quorum, not having a quorum, Yanayev and Piryazeva insisted on continuing work and on adopting the quorum proposal. This decision was adopted by a simple majority vote.

"Well, and after this it became possible to adopt a decision on the bill on taxes on state, leased, public, and other enterprises, associations, and organizations. The first point of the decision on this bill deals with approving it on the first reading, but it is nevertheless not being adopted by either the Soviet of the Union nor the Soviet of Nationalities, despite the fact that such a compromise proposal was adopted.

"After the interval, Viktor Grigoryevich Kucherenko appealed to the Committees for Industry, for Economic Reform issues, for Agrarian Issues and Food, and for ecological Issues, as well as to the group of deputies from autonomous regions to take part in the work of the Commission for Planning, Budget, and Finance—it will not have a recess—in order to prepare the finalized document by the resumption of the session's work on 11th May. That is the compromise reached."

"In addition, there was applause in connection with the adoption of the law on servicemen's pensions."

"The law on citizens' pensions also was adopted as a whole, and there was applause, too. Now it is being voted on by sections, with the introduction of amendments to individual articles.

TASS Summarizes 28 Apr Supreme Soviet Session

LD2804161190 Moscow TASS in English 1522 GMT 28 Apr 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—The Soviet parliament today adopted a bill on pensions for servicemen. Its implementation will require R1.5 billion annually.

The bill would increase pensions to servicemen by 15-20 percent and to war invalids and the families of servicemen killed in the line of duty by 30-40 percent on average. The law will enter into force on January 1, 1991.

The Soviet parliament also started discussing a bill on pensions in the Soviet Union. The deputies adopted it on the whole and then began to discuss amendments to certain articles.

The bill is to be adopted at a joint meeting of both chambers, to be held on May 11 after the holiday recess (May 1st—day of international solidarity of working

people and May 9—day of the Soviet Union's victory in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945 against Nazi Germany).

From May 11 to 12, the Soviet parliament will consider the first reading of a bill on taxation of enterprises. A lack of quorum prevented adopting the bill today.

From May 14 to 15, the session is to hear a government report on a programme to step up the transition to a free market and start discussing corresponding bills.

The Soviet president's press-secretary Arkadiy Maslennikov told a briefing today that the government programme will be discussed at a joint meeting of the presidential and federation councils.

Moscow Radio Carries 27 Apr Supreme Soviet Session

Deputies Debate Tax Bill

LD2704165290

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1500 GMT 27 April begins carrying a recording of the 27 April USSR Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow. Reception is good. Session Chairman Anatoliy Lukyanov opens the session and establishes there is a quorum. He advises the session will spend the first hour discussing the law on taxation.

At 1505 GMT Deputy Lushchikov takes the floor. He suggests a change to the Law on Taxation (Article 5), which deals with production cooperatives and their place of registration. Taxation of affiliated enterprises should take place according to the place of registration of the affiliated enterprises, he says. In general, he supports the bill.

Deputy Albert Yakovlev next expresses concern about Article 3. He is very much against high taxation, saying it damages the ability of an enterprise to function and can indeed lead to bankruptcy. He says it is necessary to ascertain if there is any other source of revenue through taxation.

At 1519 GMT Deputy Lapygin of the Committee for Defense and State Security Issues takes the floor. He asks why there is a need to discuss a new law on profit tax, given that not so long ago financial autonomy was under discussion. He points out some loopholes in the system of benefits suggested: for instance, if an enterprise spends money open research development, the money can only come from last year's benefits and not from the previous year. He concludes by saying there is a need to discuss labor productivity, quoting Lenin on the subject of its importance.

Deputy Naumov tackles the relationship between the Law on Inventions and the Law on Taxation currently under discussion. He wants Article Six to be supplemented with a passage granting inventors taxation benefits. he also wants greater support for innovating funds.

Deputy Mongo focuses attention on the taxes paid by publishing houses and wonders why it should be that some publications are to be taxed considerably more heavily than others. He also feels there must be permanent taxation benefits that will help improve the environment in the far north. The tax on natural resources untilized should be higher, he notes.

At 1537 GMT Deputy Tsyurupa aproaches the podium; It is his contention that education, health, and cultural organizations should be untaxed. He also has a proposal on social insurance for enterprises that involves the substitution of several clauses with several other clauses. Voluntary subscriptions by enterprises to collective insurance, particularly medical should be tax-exempt. Enterprises making medical supplies should, he feels, have tax benefits.

Deputy Tsybukh of the Youth Affairs Committee speaks pointing out how unfair it is that youth enterprises should be taxed. These enterprises, which in the long run will pay for themselves, should rather be supported by tax benefits, as is the case in other countries, he notes. He also objects to the politicization of taxation: political organizations taxed at one rate, public organizations at another.

At 1552 GMT Deputy Advadze says there are no figures today to show how much each republic puts into the state fund, and how much it gets out of it. The bill as it stands would make even locally subordinate enterprises pay money into the state coffers. he wants real financial autonomy.

At 1556 GMT Deputy Saunin says both positive and negative aspects of taxation have been heard. Let us leave emotion and look at the essence of the proposals, then we see that almost all deputies have approved the concept of the bill on tax, he says. We need to differentiate taxes according to profits, conditions.

At 1603 GMT Lukyanov says 66 deputies altogether have taken part in debating the bill, that is one eighth of the total. There are various opinions given but most support the concept. A vote is taken on whether to end the debate. Deputies vote to end the debate.

No Quorum Reached; Pension Bill Addressed

LD2704175990

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1604 GMT on 27 April continues its recording of the 27 April USSR Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow. Reception is good. Kucherenko, chairman of budgetary and planning commission, sums up the debates. He says his commission has worked hard and he feels it has arrived at a good version. He compares tax rates in the United States, Canada, Italy and France. He mentions 30 kinds of tax concessions. Questions of superprofits tax are raised. Kucherenko goes through the various points made by the debaters. Republican budgets received nearly 30 billion roubles, he says, in reply

to Deputy Advaze's question on how much republics give or receive. Our bill has been very carefully drafted and is in keeping with the market system of our economy, he notes. A question of tax concessions to joint enterprises with abroad is raised. He explains why they have been granted to foreign investors, to encourage investment. Questions of sports and trade union organizations are raised by various deputies. He says Orlov spoke very clearly on the question of tax on imports and exports. Kucherenko explains why there is a tax on exports. There is a question of tax on the defense industry.

At 1629 GMT Kucherenko thanks everyone for their comments, which will be taken into consideration.

At 1630 GMT USSR Minister of Finance Pavlov speaks on the question of profitability, tax rates. There are differences of opinion on the rate, some think 34 or 35 percent. In most countries there is the concept of non-profit organizations. We realise the economy has to be studied carefully, work on the bill will be continued, he notes.

At 1637 GMT Lukyanov says the debate is now over, amid various pleas from the hall. We have carefully studied the bill, various commissions should continue working on it and present it at the current session.

At 1644 GMT Lukyanov puts the resolution to a vote. Twelve persons do not take part, so the resolution is not adopted. One short for quorum of Soviet of Nationalities. Lukyanov adjourns the sitting.

At 1646 GMT Lukyanov invites registration by name. The country awaits the Pensions Bill for Victory Day. Procedural matters to do with registration continue. There was no quorum in Soviet of Nationalities previously so the resolution could not be adopted. There is a proposal for registration by name. Lukyanov carries out the registration. Roy Medvedev gives excuses for various of his colleagues. In the Soviet of Union 176, Soviet of Nationalities, 163 registered, Lukyanov says. We cannot vote but we can continue debate on pensions bill. To be debated is a redrafted version. Many people in commissions and government and All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions took part in this redraft.

At 1655 GMT The floor is given to chairman of Commission for Issues of Labor and Prices, Gritsenko. Gritsenko speaks of the question of servicemen's pensions. Many proposals have been received on Article 14 about concessions regarding pensions and other questions. Commission worked with participation of deputies who had made these proposals. Proposals on better pensions for women agricultural workers were upheld. Priority must be given to women workers in agriculture. Pensions at 50 for milkmaids and female pig farmers.

At 1700 GMT Gritsenko continues to put forward some of the suggestions that have been submitted by deputies to his commission. These include proposals for pensions for test pilots, and for air traffic controllers to retire at 50. Proposals also on retirement age for factory ship workers, mother-heroines and other individual groups have been received. Lukyanov received a letter yesterday from 46 people on the subject of retirement for machine operators on farms. Gritsenko says all these proposals have a right to exist and to be aired. Now, on the subject of the decision. The draft decision on the adoption of the Law on Pensions contains suggestions from 20 deputies. The commission has, however, some alternative suggestions that it would like to see in the decision, and Gritsenko goes through these one by one, slotting them into the draft wording. There have been proposals to link the minimum pension to the minimum wage/standard of living. Another proposal has been received to compensate people in their pensions for damage to health after living in a city with a poor environment. There are, says Gritsenko, currently 900 documents governing pensions in the country. Our aim is to codify these within one law on pensions.

At 1730 GMT Gritsenko conclude, expressing his thanks to everyone who has so far taken part in the discussions. He reads out a telegram from a Rostov pensioner calling for the Law to be adopted before May 9, Victory Day.

Debate Continues

LD2704191190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1731 GMT on 27 April continues its recording of the 27 April USSR Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow. Reception is good.

Lukyanov comments on the enormous number of letters and telegrams that have been received on the Law on Pensions.

At 1732 GMT Gritsenko briefly answers questions from deputies and groups of deputies, largely couched in the terms why have x,y,z groups of people not been included in the groups that can gain perferential pensions? The two lists of eligible groups must remain the prerogative of the Council of Ministers, he says.

At 1744 GMT a deputy speaks from the body of the hall to complain that, while milkmaids and pig farmers are to have preferential retirement ages, the equally arduous job of poultry-maid will not bestow any such benefit. Gritsenko says that matter is up to the government. Deputy Yarovaya complains from the hall that there is no mention of calf-maids in the preferential list. Deputy Babchenko complains about the proposed pension provisions for professional drivers. A deputy then makes another point about male agricultural workers. Gritsenko replies, explaining in the process why machinery workers are claiming preferential pension treatment: breathing exhaust fumes all day.

At 1757 GMT Deputy Kugultinov tackles the question of the provision allowing people convicted in the 1930s of state crimes to claim three times the length of time they spent incarcerated as time worked towards claiming

a pension. He thinks this provision should be extended to all others convicted in the 1930s. Gritsenko agrees. Other deputies put forward their proposals. Deputy Kostishin says it is all very well to allow people to retire early due to difficult working conditions, but who will take their place?

At 1802 GMT two final questions from deputies are asked. Lukyanov says all questions will be dealt with during the debate on each article. At 1805 GMT Gritsenko talks about working conditions of air traffic controllers, comparing them to conditions in other countries.

He discusses the question of agricultural workers retiring early and of society being left without workers. He says the question of shepherds is a regional question, high mountain shepherds and desert shepherds live in different conditions. Conditions vary; for instance in Khorezm oasis conditions are superb. Each republic is different. In Central Asia the problems of pensions and social insurance are being solved very poorly. He speaks on special concessions for northern regions and southern regions. On coalminers, he says, 20 years service is permitted.

At 1830 GMT Lukyanov calls for the decision on the bill on taxation to be adopted. He asks for members to register. We have the right to adopt the decision. He asks them to vote on the first point of the decision of the bill on tax, its basic provisions, as basis for later deciding each specific question. It must be voted on in the first hearing. It is put to the vote.

At 1835 GMT deputies register. The majority vote for it; it is adopted by a simple majority. A voice from the hall says 246 are absent. The Soviet of the Union adopts it. The Soviet of Nationalities will vote on it. Deputy Filshin says asks why there are so few voting. Lukyanov says representatives of three republics are virtually missing. The second part is put to the vote with an addendum about commissions having to continue to examine the bill and present it to the Supreme Soviet within the current session. The Soviet of Nationalities adopts it by simple majority. The Soviet of the Union is now registering. Twelve people refuse to vote. Lukyanov says the debate will return to this question at the next session, on the morning of 28 April.

At 1848 GMT the recording concludes.

Supreme Soviet Discusses Pensions

LD2704122190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] At the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Over to the all-Union radio correspondents' center in the Kremlin. At the microphone is Marina Novitskaya.

[Novitskaya] This morning, the Supreme Soviet completed the first reading of the draft law on the taxation of state, leasehold, cooperative, public, and other enterprises, associations and organizations. Unfortunately, it has proved impossible to adopt a decision: As has happened on more than one occasion recently, there is no quorum in the Soviet of Nationalities.

Well, I want to tell you about another event, to which journalists were invited in the morning. This was the ceremony of the swearing in of the members of the USSR Committee for Constitutional Supervision. As we have already reported, most of the members of the committee were elected on the previous day, but they can only take up their posts after they have been sworn in by the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. It was Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov who initiated today's ceremonial act. The members of the Committee for Constitutional Supervision came up to the table, one by one. The text of the oath is short. This is how it sounds: I solemnly swear to conscientiously discharge the obligations laid upon me and to abide, while so doing, by all the clauses of the USSR Constitution and by nothing other then them. In addition, there must be the signature of each participant in the ceremony who is taking the oath, and then Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov authenticated the whole procedure with his own signature. But, in his concluding speech, he drew attention to the fact that the committee's activities are linked in the closest way with the establishment of a law-governed state.

This thought was continued by Sergey Sergeyevich Alekseyev, the committee's chairman. He said that the committee was conscious of its lofty mission and that, in his view, today was an historic landmark, since a law-governed state begins only when there is a court to judge the law. I shall remind you that the Committee for Constitutional Supervision is totally independent, since its main task is to see that any legislative enactment, including presidential decrees, is in accordance with our Constitution.

But let us return to the hall of sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The deputies have now moved on to the draft law on pension provision for citizens. As you know, it has already been considered, on 21 April. The polemics were sharp and divisive, and, as a result, the commission working on the draft received proposals from over 150 more deputies. They were supplemented by the voters. As the rapporteur, Nikolay Nikolayevich Gritsenko, put it, the Supreme Soviet has been linked with the country throughout the last few days by a hot telephone line.

So what does the commission suggest after examining these proposals? Well, here are just a few of the proposals that it considers possible to accept. There is the extention of privileges for several categories of women in agriculture. For example, milkmaids, female tobacco-growers, mechanizers, shepherds in mountain pastures, and several others will be added to the privileged professions, if the deputies agree to this. They will all be able, if the law is adopted, to retire on pension five years earlier than usual. Privileges for pensioners who were

retired because of eyesight problems have been extended. They are entitled to additional maintenence payments.

The rapporteur is still on the platform at the moment, continuing his report. So, later on, we will tell you about the other proposals and whether the deputies accept them. In the meantime, I'll end this report from the Kremlin.

New Law Changes Soviet Federation

LD2704151890 Moscow TASS in English 1506 GMT 27 Apr 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—A package of new laws adopted at the Soviet parliament's current session changes the very essence of the Soviet federation, making it much more democratic, Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Council of Nationalities (one of the two houses of the USSR's standing legislature), told a news conference here today.

"The new approach rests on the expansion of the rights of all ethnic entities in the country—from union republic to national area", he said. "We have lived for a long time a unitary state in which the centre's attitude to union republics, and theirs to autonomous entities was reminiscent of that towards subordinates", Nishanov admitted. This largely explained numerous negative phenomena in the sphere of interethnic relations, including growing separatism, he added.

Nishanov attached much importance to the law on the delineation of powers between the union and constituent entities, approved yesterday. This legislative act, he said, "could form the basis of a new union treaty" which should be drafted simultaneously with a new version of the Soviet Constitution.

Asked by TASS about the future of Armenian and Azerbaijani refugees, Georgiy Tarazevich, chairman of the Council of Nationalities' Commission for Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations, said that the efforts applied by the government and other state bodies were apparently insufficient.

"The Supreme Soviet should draft and adopt a legislative act on the status of refugees in the USSR," he pointed out.

Bills Not Adopted Due to Lack of Quorum

LD2704170290 Moscow TASS in English 1632 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—The first reading of the bill on taxes on enterprises and the second reading of the bill on pensions were not adopted today at the Soviet parliament because of a lack of quorum.

The problem is in many respects connected with the absence of Lithuanian deputies from the session, Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Council of Nationalities (this chamber of parliament often lacks a quorum), told a news conference today.

Ever since the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet proclaimed independence, Lithuanian delegates have not participated in the Soviet parliament's work. The problem is also brought about by the fact that many deputies hold simultaneous state and party positions and are often absent from the session.

At a joint meeting of the chambers, the Soviet parliament continued to consider the first reading of the bill on taxes on enterprises.

Consideration of the bill began on April 16 when two alternative drafts were submitted. One of them was prepared by the government jointly with the parliament's planning, budgetary, and financial commission. The second draft was drawn up by Viktor Yaroshenko, an economist from Moscow.

With many common approaches (primarily the creation of equal conditions for various forms of ownership) the two drafts have different basic tax rates. The government insists on a 55 per cent rate, whereas the alternative draft suggests 35 per cent.

A total of 70 deputies spoke during the discussions of the bill on April 16, 18 and 27. Critics of the government-submitted bill point out that the tax rate is too high and is oriented towards maintaining existing command methods, not toward the transition to a market economy.

In reply, Soviet Finance Minister Valentin Pavlov emphasises that a tax rate below 55 per cent would jeopardise the implementation of large-scale social programmes that have already been endorsed by the Supreme Soviet and that are estimated to cost no less than 60 billion roubles a year.

The finance minister believes that a lower tax rate would lead to the further growth of money incomes not backed up by goods, i.e. would spur inflation.

Most speakers suggested adopting the government draft as a basis for further work and at the same time draw on the best aspects of the alternative document. The basic tax rate is to be determined during the second reading of the bill in May.

However, the proposal to adopt the bill in the first reading did not poll the necessary majority of votes: The number of deputies present at the session today was only slightly more than a quorum. It was decided to return to this item on Saturday.

Following a lunch break, the Supreme Soviet, owing to a lack of Quorum, was unable to consider the second reading of the bill on the provision of pensions for citizens in the Soviet Union.

The afternoon meeting was fully devoted to procedural matters connected with the lack of quorum. Anatoliy

Lukyanov suggested that the votes of those Supreme Soviet members who have already filed written applications to resign from parliamentary duties should not be counted during voting.

Such a decision, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet said, would make it possible to free-up the work of the parliament.

The Supreme Soviet will return to the discussion of the bill on pensions Saturday.

Nishanov Enumerates Supreme Soviet Draft Laws

LD2704201690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] A news conference devoted to nationalities problems and relations between the nationalities was held today at the USSR Supreme Soviet. Taking part were People's Deputies Nishanov, Oleynik, Tarazevich, Kugultinov, and Shuvalov. Rafik Nishanovich Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soveit, recalled all the laws relating to our federation that have been adopted by the Supreme Soviet.

[Begin Nishanov recording] We all realize in this exceptionally sensitive area in the life of every person of the Soviet Union, numerous what I would even say were extremely pressing problems have built up, which we have ignored for decades and which are now in urgent need of a fair, comprehensive, and considered solution. I should like to briefly enumerate the draft laws that have been adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet. These are the law on delimiting the powers of the USSR and subjects of the federation; the law on the free national development of citizens of the USSR who are resident outside the borders of their national-state territories or who do not have such territories within that of the Soviet Union; the law on the languages of the peoples of the USSR; the law on increasing accountability for infringements on the equality of rights of the nationalities and for violation by force of the territory of the USSR; the law on the general principles of local self-government and that on the procedure for tackling issues linked to the secession of a union republic from the USSR, which, for the first time in the history of the Soviet Federation, determines concrete ways and means for a republic to secede from the Soviet Union.

We have placed the principles of comprehensively expanding the rights, powers, and independence of all national-territorial formations, from the union republic to the national okrug, at the basis of our law-making activities and these laws fully correspond to the requirements of the strategy we have developed and which have as their aim to dismantle the super-centralism that has existed in the activities of the institutions of the Soviet Federation. We do not conceal that for many long years we lived in a unitary and harshly centralized state. It would not, most probably, be a mistake for me to say figuratively that at a certain period in time the center treated the republics, the republics the autonomous republics, the oblasts and krays the autonomous oblasts and autonomous formations, like some kind of subsidiary plots of their own. We should like to have done with this unfair situation, devoid of equality of rights, and the laws adopted open the way for a fair resolution of all the issues. We do not want any people to be in command of other peoples and want all the peoples of the Soviet Union, whatever their numerical strength and wherever they live, to feel they have equal rights and to develop on an identical basis within a renewed Soviet Federation. [end recording]

Correction to Doguzhiyev Report on Chernobyl

LD2704171490

The following correction provides additional passages to the speech by V. Doguzhiyev at the 25 April session of the USSR Supreme Soviet published on pages 50-53 of the 26 April Soviet Union DAILY REPORT.

On page 53, Column two, paragraph four, make last sentence read: ...of these subsections.

I have to report that not all measures contained in the republican program on these issues have been accepted by us. The Council of Ministers of the union considers that it is premature for decisions like those on reducing the duration of the working week; on providing supplements to wages and pensions that vary according to the density of radioactive pollution of the locality—a single supplement of 25 percent has currently been established; on fixing a length of service extension multiple; on accepting the status of residents of the contaminated territories; and on the construction of housing and social, cultural, and everyday service facilities on territories subject to low level contamination to be taken before criteria governing safe residence on contaminated territories are worked out and before the radiation situation is worked out in detail.

The draft urgent measures provides for cash grants to paid-out of central resources, naturally—to those living in population centers where consumption of food which is locally produced or from private household plots is restricted; for children to be maintained without payment in children's preschool establishments; for additional paid leave for workers; and for increased—I'm not going to read it out, it should be in the material that has been given to you.

Measures for improving medical services and social security provision for people who have taken part in work to eliminate the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES [nuclear electric power station] include, among other things, the organization in 1990 of continuous outpatient health screening and treatment; the setting up of a state register in place of the interim one; and regional and departmental centers for the rehabilitation of these individuals. For these people—the eliminators, as we call them—that is to say those who took part directly in eliminating of the consequences a number of grants and benefits have been envisaged.

Besides these measures which were pointed out in the decision of the Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU under Number 425 the draft program envisages that funds and resources will be allocated for the construction and technical equipping of a computer center for the state distributive register of individuals who have been subjected to the effects of radiation; the setting up of a standards register of representative groups of the population and ensuring that it functions; for securing the work of the expert councils which are being created to establish causal links between disease and invalidity and work to eliminate the consequences of the accident; and for setting up a recovery and rehabilitation center.

The program of urgent measures provides for steps ensuring the rational and safe use of agricultural and timber resources, special agrochemical and agrotechnical steps on arable lands, and now the partial regrassing and improvement of hayfields and so forth. Here I talked in detail in the first part of the report, to the effect that we more or less have recommendations, have the equipment. Now it is a question of introducing this plant, of establishing all the densities of pollution at which it makes sense in carrying out agricultural work and, it if makes sense, then what crops should be grown there. This problem, I think, requires elaboration.

We envisage in the program the construction of buildings and the creation of a system of collection and retention of the radioactive waste in the course of agricultural and forestry work, the execution of forestry management and regulation work on these areas, and methods and directions of the safe use of polluted agricultural and forestry ouput.

One of the questions for which we somehow have not found a good solution is that of the provision of information. Social tension has grown up in the afflicted regions. It is being abetted by the alarming contradiction of statements in the mass media, especially on medical aspects, by scientists and specialists of various types, in the sense of objective information which is accessible to the population on the actual state of affairs leads to these unnecessary excesses. The program envisages the setting up of a single system of radioecological information for the population, whose basis will consist of the union and regional radiological information centers under construction. The regular publication of suitable information bulletins is to be organized.

In accordance with the USSR Supreme Soviet decision Number 829 on urgent measures for the country's ecological improvement, programs by the Russian federation, the Ukrainian republic and the Belorussian republic on the elimination of the consequences of the accident at Chernobyl have been studied by the Council of Ministers and the elaboration of a single union republic program on this issue has been carried out. In the process of working out and forming a single program, the insufficiency of Soviet and worldwide scientific data and other information needed for adopting long-term decisions became apparent. In particular, these include the concept of safe housing, of which I have already mentioned, of radioactive regions, including the effects of the prolonged influence of small doses of radiation on a human in conjunction with other negative factors.

Because of the particularities which have been revealed—large patchy pollution—additional measurements are required. Because of peculiarities which have come to light more detailed measurements must be made in a number of regions of the Russian federation, the Ukrainian republic and the Belorussian republic of the levels of local pollution, including of strontium and plutonium, and bearing in mind the geophysical and geochemical peculiarities of the territories.

Taking into account that to work out a complex, long-term program it is necessary to carry out additional scientific studies, and also the great social significance of the acceleration of the resolution of the problems connected with the protection of the population from the influence of the consequences of the accident, the Council of Ministers Presidium has adopted the decision to work out two interconnected programs, a program of urgent measures and a long- term program. It has ratified the state program of urgent measures to eliminate the consequences of the accident and given suitable instructions on the elaboration of the concept, including the invitation of foreign specialists. It has approved in principle the republican programs of the Russian federation, the Ukrainian republic and the Belorussian republic, and has given instructions also to present, together with the concept, the draft, and after the elaboration of the concept and the adoption of its refinements and dimensions, the draft long-term program.

The program and report put forward to you were studied by the Supreme Soviet committees on environmental protection and health protection. The committee members expressed observations and proposals to us. They have been taken into consideration. The government asks you to take cognizance of our information and our actions, and to approve them, for two programs to act, the program of urgent measures, the elaboration of scientific concepts and the adoption of a long-term program. Thank you, I will finish. (supplying additional material)

Ryzhkov, Lukyanov Discuss Government Program

LD2704151590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1803 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Remarks by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the 25 April joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades! I think we need to adopt some kind of decision because we can argue for as long as you like, but we have to adopt a decision and adopt the right decision today. I do not object from the point of view of confirming the program that Comrade

Doguzhiyev was talking about. Taking into account the unresolved nature of a number of long-term issues, we have indeed singled out absolutely clear problems that have scientific, practical grounding. We have singled out a separate document, and we endorsed it on Saturday; at the Council of Ministers Presidium. So it is written there: to approve; or: to take cognisance of. In the final analysis, one could write: confirm; the: confirmed program. I am speaking in the conditional; evidently the words could be found. So if the Supreme Soviet says—confirm it; confirm the government program—that would to some extent enhance, well, simply, the prestige of the Supreme Soviet.

[Lukyanov] Nikolay Ivanovich, can I ask you a question? In my opinion, it....

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] Anatoliy Ivanovich, I would like to carry on. I agree with Comrade Zhuravlev: This program must be confirmed, and the other program, those programs, should be approved. Today, comrades, we must not simply confirm them because we will really cause a very serious reaction within a few months. Several questions have not been settled. The maximum allowed norms of radiation have not been settled: 35 rem? Or more? Or less? Neither has the question of the agroindustrial complex been settled. Two or three questions have not been settled. No solution has been found—regrettably, it is to our shame—by our scientists, both from the big academy and from the smaller academies. They have not settled this question, and I think that in general this is intolerable for such a mighty state, when all is said and done. If we are lacking in the knowledge, let us call in international experts. By the way, in our decision, the decision of the Council of Ministers, it is written that the very best, world-class experts should be called in to work out the outline that is to be implemented this year. So let us call them in. We can draw the line somewhere. If we do not trust the International Atomic Energy Agency, let us get them from another organization, people from UNESCO, from the United Nations, and so on. So in my view, we need to approve, to approve the second part; and when these issues have been settled they will be the same for everybody. That is the proposal from (?the Presidium).

[Lukyanov] I would like to ask you a question, and then perhaps you can reply to questions. It will take one minute. So our second point, this program, the state program of urgent measures for 1990-92. Quite specific measures! If this point is made, the first one, and we write: Confirm the state program of urgent measures for 1990-92 submitted by the USSR Council of Ministers....

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] Agreed.

[Lukyanov, continuing]...that is, what has been decided on an all-Union scale, within the competence of the USSR....

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] The government agrees with this.

[Lukyanov] If the government is agreed, then it is understandable. We make the Point 1 into Point 2 and approve the program of the republics, which will refine everything on the basis of this all-union program, and they will do it, this will be in effect in each case as a republican one.

[Ryzhkov] Anatoliy Ivanovich, some clarifications have to be made about Point 2. The republican programs must not be firmly confirmed today because....

[Lukyanov, interrupting] I was suggesting they be approved.

[Ryzhkov] ...because several fundamental issues have not been settled, which will cause certain changes. We do not know whether they will be introduced in Belorussia, or Russia, or Ukraine, but certain changes will be introduced, and so they [the programs] have to be approved, and when the outline for habitation has been worked out, and as they say, certain amendments have been made, I do not know, perhaps then the Council of Ministers can be instructed to confirm then and so on, together with the councils of ministers of the union republics.

[Lukyanov] That is, at the moment what we do is switch the first program, which is perfectly clear, and confirm it as submitted by the Council of Ministers, while the second point is to approve all the republican programs, but meanwhile have a look at how it is written: The Council of Ministers of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], and the council of ministers of the Belorussian and Ukrainian SSR's [Soviet Socialist Republic] are to complete the program, taking into account the remarks of the state expert commission and Gosplan [State Planning Committee], and the proposals expressed by people's deputies—that is, now. The Council of Ministers and the councils of ministers of the republics, the union republics mentioned, are to adopt measures for immediate implementation of this program. That is, they are subject to refinement in connection with the fact that the basic program will be confirmed, and as it applies to each republic. In my view that is perfectly clear. If we can agree on that right away, we could adopt the program in this key.

[Ryzhkov] I consider such a proposal valid; it should be adopted, and, comrades, I would reckon that the decision must be adopted today, to get things moving, as they say. People are waiting, and if we fail to adopt decisions today because of the wording, we will bring this great work to a halt.

I would like to add a rider, as they say. Comrades, esteemed people's deputies! The program which the government has presented today for urgent measures alone for 1990-92—it is already included in our plans for 1990—as Comrade Doguzhiyev reported, will cost R16 billion. I would like to tell you, for your information, that the increase in our country's national income is approximately R16-17 billion. I am not certain that this will be so today, this year, the way we are working. That is, of three years of the country's work, one year will go

toward implementing the program. I am not saying this in order to prevent adoption of the program. The issues really have come to a head; we have to concern ourselves for people, but I, for example, cannot agree with those comrades who say: Either accept the program, or there will be strikes. If we adopt decisions under pressure of strikes both in the Supreme Soviet and in the government, I feel that really, all these programs—for Chernobyl, on children, on women—will, as they say, remain on paper. It seems to me that for parliamentary work, such pressures are totally unacceptable.

Political & Social

'Unknown Person' Attempts To Burn Lenin Mausoleum

PM2904150990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 6

[S. Mostovshchikov report: "Incident at the Mausoleum"]

[Text] On 28 April there was an attempted arson attack on the Lenin Mausoleum in Red Square.

In conversation with your IZVESTIYA correspondent, G. Bashkin, commander of the Kremlin, said that at 1910 an unknown person got past the barrier and threw two containers of inflammatory mixture at the Mausoleum parapet. The Mausoleum was undamaged and the flames were quickly extinguished. A citizen was detained by staffers of the Public Order Protection Department in Red Square.

V. Kirsanov, chief of that department, added that a report has been made to the rayon prosecutor about the Kremlin assailant. He is unable to provide any details on the identity of the public order violator. The detainee is not answering quesitons. He appears to be 40-45 years old. He explained the reasons for his action to the militia like this: "I said everything by my actions."

Gorbachev Congratulates State Award Winners

LD2904230390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 29 Apr 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [L. Elin, presenter] The material conferring awards to representatives of the working class, peasants, and scientific and cultural figures in the Kremlin is now ready and we offer it for your attention. [passage omitted] The high awards were present by President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. [passage omitted]

The hall erupted in applause when the following words were heard: For preparing the Geneva agreement for the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan, the Order of the October Revolution is awarded to Yuliy Mikhailovich Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister. The same high award was conferred today to the cosmonauts, the two Aleksandrs, Viktorenko and Serebrov, for their work beyond the planet and for courage and heroism. Orders of the Red Banner of Labor were awarded to Oleg Aleksandrovich Troyanovskiy, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR to the People's Republic of China, and to Pavel Grigoriyevich Bunich, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences. [passage omitted]

Decorations of the military rank of Marshal of the Soviet Union were awarded to Dmitriy Timofeyevich Yazov and Army General Makhmut Akhmetovich Gareyev and of Admiral of the Fleet to Konstantin Valentinovich Makarov. [passage omitted]

[Begin Gorbachev recording] Dear comrades, I warmly congratulate you on your high and merited awards of our country. I do this with great feeling also because this is happening on the eve of our great festival and this, I hope, will add to your mood, but this is also a very fine feature of the sociopolitical life of our country. Working people in all areas of our enormous country—only the cosmonauts don't seem to blend in, [he laughs] for they are above us in space—are doing what prolongs life, what brings fame to the country and people. And whatever you and I may do, whatever plans we may think up, whatever slogans we put forward, all the same, it is deeds of selfless labor that have the final, decisive word. In so far as the outstanding people here in this hall are concerned, I would like on behalf of the government and leadership of the country and of all our people to express words of sincere gratitude.

Creative work for the sake of our country is needed everywhere and, perhaps now, when so many discussions are behind us, so many passionate rallies—though indeed, they are still happening and they will continue—but now, when we have a policy, specific plans and objectives, and we all understand this, the most important thing now is deeds, deeds. I am using this occasion, this festive meeting, when I hope will remain in your memories for life, for each one of you lives by what he does for the people. That is what is most important. Then comes everything else. Once again, accept my sincere congratulations. We hope that your example will serve other people of ours and, above all, succeeding generations. Thank you and I wish you a good holiday. [applause] [end recording] [passage omitted]

Maslennikov Briefs Press on Gorbachev's Visit

LD2804150490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1336 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow, 28 Apr (TASS)—A TASS parliamentary correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

The main result of the conversations Mikhail Gorbachev, the president of the USSR, conducted with workers of the Urals was the confirmation of the fact that "the Soviet people not only support the policies of perestroyka, but also insist on the acceleration of the reforms." Arkadiy Maslennikov, press secretary for the president of the USSR, declared this at the latest briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists here today.

The Urals were not chosen by chance for the first trip that Mikhail Gorbachev would make in the capacity of president—after all, in the words of Arkadiy Maslennikov, they represent "the quintessence of Soviet society with all of its problems." During meetings with Mikhail Gorbachev, people asked questions about the prospects for the transition to a market economy, and demonstrated a lively interest in the issues of employment, inflation, the resolution of the housing problem, and the environment.

The next joint session of the Presidential Council and the USSR Federation Council, which is set to take place from 10-15 May, will again be devoted to economic problems, the press secretary for the president of the USSR reported. Answering a question by a TASS correspondent on whether the program prepared by the government on the transition to a market economy would finally be approved at this meeting, Arkadiy Maslennikov said: "Material from the government will be presented at the Presidential Council session. I will not attempt to say whether the result of the considerations will be the adoption of an acceptable program, or whether it will be a matter of defining positions more exactly. I would not rule out either." But today the country needs a precise plan of action; the time has passed for experiments in the economy, the press secretary stressed.

In addition to this, the questions asked at the meetings with Urals workers, the situation regarding foodstuffs in the country, issues relating to conversion, and also new approaches to solving the housing problem will be considered at the next session of the Presidential Council, Arkadiy Maslennikov reported.

Report Claims Possible Shevardnadze Resignation

LD2604134190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0700 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] The Sajudis Information Agency reports:

A report was received on 24 April about the resignation of USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze by the 28th CPSU congress. It is expected that Shevardnadze will head the Department for International Relations of the CPSU Central Committee. According to the opinion of experts, in view of the exacerbation of international relations in the country, this change of posts would not mean a demotion.

According to unofficial information, Falin, Primakov, and Yakovlev are all proposed for the post of foreign minister. However, some experts think that Eduard Shevardnadze will be replaced by one of the former USSR ambasadors in West Europe.

'Competent Officials' Deny Rumor

LD2704174390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1627 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow, April 27 (TANJUG)—The information that Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze intends to resign has been denied, it was learnt in Moscow Thursday evening [26 April].

The information was published by a local semi-private agency, The Post Factum.

Competent officials of the Foreign Ministry say the information is groundless.

Shevardnadze is currently preparing to visit West Germany.

'Distinctive' May Day Celebration Plans Reviewed

LD3004021190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2300 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] May Day meeting on Red Square: This year marks the centenary of the first mass celebration of the international day of solidarity with world laborers. The presidium of the Moscow City Trade Union Council has called upon labor collectives of the capital to conduct a procession and May Day meeting on Red Square on 1 May. Comrade Bugayev, head of a department of the Moscow City Trade Union Council, member of the festival organizing committee, said the following: In bygone years, as we all recall, the May Day demonstration was too highly organized: Even the slogans which columns from each rayon bore onto Red Square were regulated. It was, therefore, decided to let the working people themselves express their attitude to the processes taking place in our society. This time, the procession of representatives of labor collectives is intended to be conducted industry by industry: This will give each trade union the opportunity to express its own professional interests, slogans, and banners. The themes of these are the international solidarity of working people, the unity of the USSR on the principles of sovereignty and respect for the rights of each nation, protection for the working people on the introduction of the mechanism of the market economy, and the problem of protecting the environment. We stress once again, however, that the labor collectives themselves will determine the theme of the slogans.

Their representatives will assemble at eight points within the confines of the Sadovoye Koltso ring road. Then the festive ranks of columns will move off, to the sound of brass bands and folk instruments, along the traditional routes toward Red Square. After flowers from the industrial trade unions have been laid at the Vladimir Ilich Lenin Mausoleum, a meeting will begin. About 48,000 people—the number that can be accomodated in Red Square—will take part. USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, have been invited to the meeting. The guest stands will be occupied only by labor veterans and foreign guests of the Soviet trade unions. It has been proposed to ministers and other leaders that they should be in their respective columns: This is another distinctive feature of this year's May Day festivities.

We invite People's Deputies to celebrate the holiday together with their labor collectives.

Medvedev Views Democratic Platform 29 Apr

LD3004003190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 29 Apr 90

["Part" of an address by Vadim A. Medvedev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the Gorkiy Oblast party aktiv meeting on 29 April—recorded]

[Text] The Communist Party, the initiator of revolutionary changes, finds itself today at a historic point where the future of perestroyka and socialism and the future of the peoples of our country depend upon its renewal. It is no coincidence that all party members and all to whom the ideals of socialism are dear are passionately worried about the fate of the party. We must soberly and undramatically comprehend the real consequences for the party of the objective process of the emergence of a multiparty system. I will say a propos that, of course, as members of our own party, there is no need for us somehow to assist, to force this process. But it is an objective process and, whether we want to confront this situation or not, we are already confronting it now. The party will not be able to preserve its vanguard role under the new conditions with its old baggage. It might be squeezed out of the political scene by other social forces if we let events slide and take up the position of passive observers.

There are no grounds for pessimism and political faintheartedness. We must not panic, we must seek ways to best organize the party's work and its apparatus to ensure its vanguard role. It will be necessary to introduce considerable changes to the structure of party committees and the content of all party work so that the enormous intellectual and organizational potential of the CPSU produces a real yield and ensures its continuing superiority over political currents in the struggle for the people's support. Fundamental reform is also necessary in intraparty relationships, an all-embracing democratization of the party.

Maximum attention to the opinion of each communist should be ensured, to his views, as well as a respectful attitude to the opinion and positions of the minority and its right to defend its position, in my view, even after the adoption of decisions. But, of course, the decisions must be fulfilled without fail and there must invariably be subordination to party discipline and prescribed norms. If we do not ensure freedom for the discussion of problems and display understanding toward the opinion of the minority, we will at the same time be closing the path to progress.

The pre-congress discussions have revealed the diversity of positions and views existing in society and the party. These views are not always indisputable, but they all merit an attentive attitude if they are dictated by sincere concern about the state of affairs in the country and an aspiration to correct it.

Unfortunately, in the course of the discussions, attempts have also appeared, under slogans of pseudo-revolutionaryism and groundless fault-finding, to lead the party away from the course of perestroyka and to split the CPSU. They are being undertaken from both the left and the right. Let us take that very same Democratic Platform. It is not so much a political document designed for some dialogue, for some discussion, for an effective quest. It is a splittist movement within the CPSU, a kind of screen behind which are concealed the clearly not disinterested plans of some political figures who have taken a course toward dividing the CPSU and creating a new party. And, to boot, they are attempting to bring into it as many members of the CPSU as possible. The registration of the platform supporters is under way, that is, essentially, the recruitment of members for a new party or faction. Who is interpreting this question in such a way? Coordinating councils have been established in the centers of several regions.

The issue has been raised of forming a material base which is independent from the CPSU. In their public statements, some authors of the Democratic Platform go much further than what is set out in this document and speak openly of aims which are far from the principles of socialism and at variance with pure perestroyka.

The CPSU Central Committee—this was expressed in the open letter to the country's communists—supports the opinion of many party members on the need to refute those forces which are attempting to use the pre-congress discussion for unseemly purposes, for dividing the party into hostile opposing factions, and splitting the party and taking out of it a certain section of communists.

It is amoral for a party ticket to be held by people who do not want to have anything in common with the CPSU, who are rushing toward the 28th congress to arrive nursing the pre-arranged grievance of a split. We are certain that differences in the understanding of any particular problems can and should be the subject of comprehensive discussion, but by no means the grounds for the party's disintegration. The Democratic Platform was published in the party press for discussion. There is nothing prejudicial in this; on the contrary, it is useful. We are ready to and will continue to develop, and publish certain documents subsequently. Other opinions and positions will obviously be published.

But to wage a struggle against the party disguising oneself with some documents for political purposes is an unseemly goal and these kinds of attempts are unacceptable. Each communist has every chance to express and defend his views and carry them through to the decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress. It is only on a path of a reasonable synthesis of various positions within the

framework of socialist choice that it is possible to create a united platform for communists.

Of course, everyone is entitled to make another choice. Overall, there is no need to be forcibly linked to the CPSU. Therefore, it would be more honest for some members of the party not to shed crocodile tears for the CPSU or to assert directly that one is an outcast from the party, but to state one's differences of principle with it and to act openly outside the CPSU, as it were, to leave its ranks. If they do not leave, then they will have to be helped, something that is being done in a number of party organizations, in general. There are no obstacles to this today. There is a battle ahead for the minds of millions of people. This work will probably be more complicated. It will be more difficult to restore the shaken prestige and faith in social ideals.

An active search is taking place at the center and in the localities for ways to affirm the real power of rank and file communists, the party masses of the CPSU, and ways for them to participate practically in working out and implementing party policy and controlling the work of leading party bodies and their apparatus. The party is seeking and will find answers which are worthy of our revolutionary time to all these questions which are at the epicenter of our pre-congress discussion.

Medvedev Interviewed on Komsomol, Perestroyka

LD2904104790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0910 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow, 29 April (TASS)—"The party is fully aware that without the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League], without the young people, perestroyka will simply not happen," said Vadim Medvedev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, in an interview published today in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. He said that the 21st Komsomol Congress, which he took part in, "took place in a democratic atmosphere and expressed a great variety of interests of various groups of young people and a broad spectrum of judgements and assessments." In its decisions the congress reflected young people's desire to play an active part in the process of renewing our society, and the harmony between the Komsomol's ideological aspirations and perestroyka's main tasks, he says in the interview. The Komsomol, with its many millions of members, represents a wide gamut of problems, interests, convictions, and inclinations. It is important that they should not be stifled and that they should be given a natural outlet. The congress fulfilled this task while preserving its unity and its ideological closeness to the party.

The interview also touches on the situation within the CPSU. In Vadim Medvedev's opinion, "the party's consolidation is also conceivable on a basis of pluralism." "Such a consolidation is more durable and healthier than that which is achieved by like-mindedness," he stressed. "In the nature of things, there can be no complete unity of opinion. I do not agree with the calls to consolidate everyone without exception, from the most dyed-in-the-wool conservatives and even Stalinists to those who preach liberal bourgeois principles and the relinquishing of the socialist path. That would be an unprincipled consolidation. But a consolidation of all forces standing for socialist renewal of society is entirely possible and necessary."

Speaking of the problems of the transition to a multiparty system, Vadim Medvedev noted that the constitutional possibilities for forming parties have been laid down. "Everything else depends upon the political awareness of the people, social groups, and classes, i.e. on the real sociopolitical process," he said. "Any party has an interest first of all in seeing its own positions becoming firmly established in society, and not those of some other political forces. That is the meaning of the struggle for influence over the masses. Our party will strive to preserve its prestige and influence and to continue to play the role of the ruling party."

Komsomol Credentials Commission Issues Report

90US0798B Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Apr 90 p 2

[Report by V. Chepurin, chairman of VLKSM Congress Credentials Commission, to 11 April 21st VLKSM Congress]

[Text] Comrades!

The Credentials Commission of the congress, guided by the statute of the VLKSM [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League], Instructions on the Conduct of Elections of Leading Komsomol Organs, and appropriate decisions of the Ninth VLKSM Central Committee Plenum, verified the powers of the delegates of the congress and submits the results of this work for your examination.

As is well-known, by decision of the Ninth VLKSM Central Committee Plenum a norm was determined for representation to the 21st VLKSM Congress (one delegate for every 16,000 Komsomol members), and the opportunities for Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] organizations to nominate candidates and to elect congress delegates were broadened considerably. It was established for the first time that Komsomol organizations of autonomous okrugs, oblasts, and republics elect delegates to the congress directly.

The right to determine the procedure for electing delegates was granted to the Central Committee of the LKSM [Leninist Communist Youth League] of the Union republics, kraykoms [kray committee], and obkoms [oblast committee] of the Komsomol, and to corresponding political organs of military formations.

An absolute majority of delegates of the congress was nominated and elected on an alternative basis.

All told, 2,019 delegates were elected to the 21st VLKSM Congress.

The Credentials Commission of the congress verified the protocols of the accounting commissions submitted to it and other documents of the Komsomol organizations on the election of delegates. For an absolute majority of the delegates, the Credentials Commission did not ascertain violations that would raise doubt about the results of their elections. According to the results of the elections, the delegates to the 21st Congress received as required the necessary number of votes of the delegates of the congress and the conferences who took part in the voting.

By virtue of the fact that the conferences lasted way into the night and the voting for the election of delegates was conducted several times, Delegates Sergey Koptelov from the Kalinin Oblast Komsomol organization, Anna Chernobrovkina from the Moscow City Komsomol organizations, Dmitriy Kakhnovskiy from the Dzerzhinskiy Rayon Komsomol organization of the city of Kharkov were elected as a result of open voting, which contradicts existing provisions of the VLKSM Statute and procedures for electing delegates that were approved by the Ninth VLKSM Central Committee Plenum.

Taking the requests of the conferences of these organizations into account, and also the results of the voting in the election of S.A. Koptelov, D.A. Kakhnovskiy, and A.V. Chernobrovkina; the Credentials Commission considers it possible to recognize their authority and asks the congress to support this recommendation.

The Credentials Commission of the congress received a decision of the Chita VLKSM Obkom plenum of 27 January 1990 concerning a declaration of invalidity of the authority of delegate Nikolay Yakovlev, a carpenter of construction-assembly train no. 621 of the Transbaykal Railroad. It turned out that the reason for this decision was that the nomination and election of Comrade N.G. Yakovlev as a congress delegate was conducted without taking into account the opinion of the primary Komsomol organization which, after his election, expressed disagreement with the decision of the oblast Komosomol organization conference. In this connection the Chita VLKSM Obkom conducted a careful study of the situation that had developed, whose findings were reviewed at the obkom plenum. Comrade N.G. Yakovlev personally announced at the VLKSM Obkom Bureau on 17 January that he declined to be a delegate to the congress, and did not attend the congress.

The congress Credentials Commission recommends supporting the decision of the Chita VLKSM Obkom plenum, taking into account the personal statement by Comrade N.G. Yakovlev about resigning his commission as a delegate.

In accordance with the procedures for the election of delegates to the 21st VLKSM Congress determined by the Central Committee Bureau of the Georgia LKSM, the elections of 32 delegates from the republic Komsomol organization were conducted at inter-rayon conferences by open vote. Up to the present time no documents confirming their election have arrived at the Credentials Commission, with the exception of excerpts from the protocol of the Georgia LKSM Central Committee Bureau session of 5 April of this year, which confirms the decision of the inter-rayon conference concerning the election of delegates to the conference and which requests the Credentials Commission to recognize their authority. In this connection it is proposed to comply with the request of the republic Komsomol Central Committee and to recognize the authority of the delegates.

In addition, the election of delegates from the Abkhaz and Adzhar Oblast Komsomol organizations was conducted at the plenums of the stated Komsomol obkoms, since the conduct of election reports of the conferences of these Komsomol organizations was hampered in connection with the sociopolitical situation that has developed. Taking this into account, the Credentials Commission proposes to consider as valid the authority of the delegates elected from the Abkhaz and Adzhar Oblast Komsomol organizations of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Letters and statements that came to the Credentials Commission were also reviewed. They express a negative assessment of the political, business, and moral qualities of certain delegates of the congress, and in this connection their election is placed in doubt.

After considering these appeals, the commission did not ascertain violations of the established procedures for the election of delegates to the 21st VLKSM Congress. Other questions do not fall within its jurisdiction. Therefore, the letters and statements that were received will be submitted for review by the new staff of the VLKSM central organs at the conclusion of the congress.

Comrades! The staff of the delegates of the 21st VLKSM Congress reflects the multinational character of our country. There are representatives of 55 nations and peoples among them.

Of all of the delegates of the congress, 1,581, or 78.3 percent, are members and candidate members of the CPSU.

In the composition of the congress, 207 delegates, or 10.8 percent, are workers in industry, construction, transport, and communications. One hundred and sixty-seven delegates, or 8.3 percent, are workers in agriculture and forestry.

Among the delegates, 23 persons are workers in science and scientific establishments, 77 are in public education, 17 are in health services and social assistance, six are in culture and the arts, 11 are in the youth media, and 133 are students and pupils.

At the congress, the Komsomol members elected 608 group Komsomol organizers and organizational secretaries with the rights of a primary organization and of primary Komsomol organizations.

The Credentials Commission regretfully ascertains that the congress elected only 287 female representatives of the pretty half of our Union.

Exactly one-half of the composition of the delegates are full-time Komsomol workers (1,009 persons).

Among them, 253 are secretaries of committees of Komsomol primary organizations, 493 are secretaries of raykoms [rayon committee] and gorkoms [city committee], and 197 are secretaries of kraykoms and obkoms of the Komsomol and of the LKSM central committees of Union republics.

Among the delegates, 140 persons, or 6.9 percent, are up to 20 years of age; 379, or 18.8 percent, are from 21 to 25 years of age; 1,172, or 58.0 percent, are from 26 to 30 years of age; and 328, or 16.3 percent, are over 30 years of age.

The Credentials Commission informs you that in the period of work of the congress 47 delegates will celebrate their birthdays, including celebrations today by Zhalina Davletova, an instructor of the Sayramskiy Raykom of the Kazakhstan LKSM of Chimkent Oblast; Yusip Afetogly Alekperov, first secretary of the Salyanskiy Raykom of the Azerbaijan LKSM; Andrey Balamut, metal worker of the "Zaporozhstal" metallurgical combine; Vladimir Novatskiy, chairman of the executive committee of the Razdelnyanskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies of Odessa Oblast; Marip Matmisayev, driver of auto enterprise No. 75 of the Tashlakskiy Rayon of Fergana Oblast; and Oleg Romashek, deputy chief of the political department for Komsomol work of the Administration of Internal Troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs for the Northwest and the Baltics; we cordially congratulate all of the birthday celebrants!

The educational level of the delegates is characterized by these data: 1,581 delegates, or 78.3 percent, have a higher or incomplete higher education; and 358 delegates, or 17.7 percent have a general secondary education or a specialized secondary education. Among the delegates of the congress, 25 are candidates of science.

The majority of the delegates of the congress, besides Komsomol work, participate in other public work, and this includes 36 percent of those elected to party organs.

Twelve USSR people's deputies are delegates to the congress, and 487 delegates honorably went through the test of difficult preelection marathons, becoming people's deputies of Union and autonomous republics and of local soviets of people's deputies.

In our opinion, the composition of the delegates of the congress fully ensures its capability to work effectively.

Proceeding from the aforementioned, the Credentials Commission submits the following draft resolution for examination by the congress:

"The 21st VLKSM Congress, having examined the presentation of the Credentials Commission, resolves:

"To recognize the authority of 2,018 delegates to the 21st VLKSM Congress who were elected by republic, kray, oblast, district, city, and rayon Komsomol organizations and by Komsomol organizations of military formations.

"To support the decision of the Chita VLKSM Obkom plenum, taking into account the personal statement by Comrade N.G. Yakovlev, a carpenter in construction-assembly train no. 621 of the Transbaykal Railroad, concerning his declining of delegate powers."

Yakovlev Interviewed on New Political Thinking

LD2904161190 Moscow World Service in Russian 0930 GMT 29 Apr 90

[First of three installments of interview with Aleksandr Yakovlev, Presidential Council member and Central Committee member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union]

[Text] [Presenter] On the waves of Moscow Radio World Service—our interview. Aleksandr Plevako, director of Moscow Radio, recently met Aleksandr Yakovlev, Presidential Council member and Central Committee member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and interviewed him. In preparing the interview for broadcasting, we have divided the interview into three parts. Today we present the first part for your attention:

[Begin recording] [Plevako] Aleksandr Nikolayevich, the concept of new political thinking concerns restoring the dialectical unity of socialism and the processes of world development, of extricating us from erroneous self-isolation. Here is my question: For a long time we criticized the theory, popular in the West, of the gradual rapprochement of socialism and capitalism in the course of the scientific and technological development of man. Does it not seem to you now that the new political thinking is once again leading us toward the concept that both sociopolitical formations may gradually arrive at common views and values? That is, is it possible to think about reviving the thesis, criticized by us, of convergence?

[Yakovlev] I am thinking about your question and, quite honestly, going through possible ways of beginning to answer. The whole point is—as in many other issues—I was overcome by the same fate, when we looked at the problem of convergence in a purely class context, in a class rupture [v klassovom razryve], and it is not sufficient to say that we related suspiciously to this theory or concept, but rather, tended toward exposing it [s razoblachitelnym uklonom].

To be honest, Western Sovietologists also assisted in this. I can adduce a sufficient number of books and authors in which convergence was studied exclusively on the level of absorbing our country into a certain orbit of

the other world—naturally, according to the interpretation, a more just, wise, and so forth world.

This could not fail to wound anybody's patriotic positions—both the scholar and politician, or indeed, simply the citizen of our country, and bring about a kind of mirror reaction. If I now started to reevaluate the problem of convergence, I would not begin to assert that humanity, people, or nations should somehow amalgamate into some kind of single whole. This would be awfully boring.

For a long time you and I have been fusing the peasants with the workers, merging nations. What has come of it? You and I now know that this is the wrong path. The extreme interpretation of convergence, which still slips out in some places, is the aspiration to amalgamate everything into a single pile, to—so to speak—level everything to the lowest common denominator, deprive people of their national complexion, social complexion, cultural complexion and peculiarities. I think this would be a ruinous path for humanity. It would deprive humanity of contradictions and deprive it of a factor for development.

But, nonetheless, there are some common denominators, perhaps common moral, economic and other indices which must be common human property. Well, let's begin—for instance—with the problem of scientific and technical convergence. Well, where here can there fail to be so-called convergence? [chuckles] Indeed, it must be welcomed. For we know that a machine functions independent of being conscious of who is at the head of the factory, or what organization rules and what method of thinking rules in a given factory or works.

It is more complex with problems, let us say, of morality, or culture. On the subject of morality, here also there must exist some kind of universal moral principles, universal human principles, which should also develop as universal human ones: Human dignity, human freedom, humanism, decency, honesty and similar dimensions of human morality. Nonetheless, it is my profound conviction that national characteristics, cultural traditions, some family traditions, town traditions, that is to say, of those small places of origin—and there are many of them, just as many as there are people on the earth—should also develop. In this leveling to the lowest common denominator I would be very afraid of the indifference to this side of the thing. I think that out of these differences, out of the development of these differences, peculiarities, and original characteristics, perhaps, will also grow the only civilization capable of development, where the single will consist of multiplicity. I think that there is no other path.

As far as the first part of your question is concerned, about the fact that both in our history and in the development of our social thought—in particular, Marxist thought—we have suffered to a considerable degree because our history, our politics and our social thought [obshchestvenuy mysl] were all the time being given an interpretation which was out of touch with those social currents which did not coincide with our current, with that social thought, with those concepts of possible paths of sociohistorical development which existed at the given stage of historical development.

It was this interpretation of our social theory, out of touch with the then extant social currents and thoughts, which also led to the narrowing of our views, both on theory and on our tasks. This led to these explicitly expressed sectarian phenomena, sectarian judgements, which, in the main, played a seriously demoralizing role, an uncreative role in the development of social theory.

This is how I would answer this question, although the subject which you have raised naturally demands more profound reflection and reasoning and discussion and arguments. But just not mutual accusations. [end recording]

[Presenter] You have been listening to the first part of an interview with Aleksandr Yakovlev, Presidential Council member and CPSU Central Committee member, and Aleksandr Plevako, director of Moscow Radio. New political thinking—what is at the base of this concept? Is the introduction of the institution of presidential power to our country capable of resolving the problems which have built up? These and other questions will be discussed in the second part of the interview, which can be heard tomorrow.

Kryuchkov Discusses KGB's New Tasks

PM3004083790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Apr 90 Second Edition p 3

["Information for the President"]

[Text] Moscow, 29 April. (TASS)—In connection with the appointment of V.A. Kryuchkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Committee of State Security, to the post of member of the USSR Presidential Council, I. Novikov, TASS correspondent, asked him to answer a number of questions.

Question: Both within our country and abroad it would have aroused surprise if the chairman of the USSR Committee of State Security had suddenly failed to appear in the Presidential Council; the importance of the information which the USSR president receives at first hand through your department is difficult to overestimate. Do you consider that the responsibility of security officers, including yourself, for the speed and authenticity of information placed on the presidential desk via the Committee of State Security has increased in magnitude by at least one degree? How is it prepared for M.S. Gorbachev?

Answer: I think that in your question you yourself have defined the significance of the Committee of State Security in our state structure. According to the constitution, the Committee of State Security chairman does not

belong to the Presidential Council. Yet he has become a member of the council, evidently, not by accident. For security officers, this is primarily an enormous responsibility. The work of the organs of state security is multifaceted and complex and it is being carried out today in an extremely complicated situation.

The Committee of State Security, like a number of other ministries and departments, has information necessary to our country at its disposal. However, there is one peculiarity, and this is quite obvious: The Committee of State Security bodies have closed information on various issues at their disposal. This is gained in a special way, through intelligence and counterintelligence. The possibilities of our analytical services enable us to summarize and analyze both open and secret information, to contrast it, make assessments, and come to conclusions. All this lends a unique quality to our information work.

Of course, obtaining information is not an end in itself. It is important, for it to be useful, that it fulfils an anticipatory function and is rapidly acted on. Today the main consumers of our information are the president, the Presidential Council, the USSR Council of Ministers, and suitable departments.

You correctly appraise the great importance of information in the mechanism of state administration, including the preparation and adoption of political decisions, especially in the current highly complex and dynamic situation. Accurate, comprehensively verified and reliable intelligence is needed.

Many of the troubles and hard trials that have befallen us can also be explained by the fact that in the past the country's top leadership often made decisions based on subjective ideas and assessments of the situation, in disregard of the reality of people's feelings, interests, and expectations. The situation in the world and in our country is such that the KGB cannot allow itself to depart by an iota from the objectivity of received intelligence, however great the temptation to report what is desirable.

The USSR KGB has set up a system of procurement, analysis, and preparation of the appropriate information. The analysis of information also includes forecasting. That is perhaps the hardest part of our work. Forecasting is above all responsibility and the result of a large volume of work.

This responsibility also dictates higher standards for the information presented by the Chekists. These standards have always been high, irrespective of where our information was conveyed, to the general secretary, to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, to the Supreme Soviet presidium, to the Council of Ministers, or other levels of authority. I think that with the introduction of the institution of president, the Chekists' responsibility for the accuracy and promptness of information increases. This is dictated by the authoritativeness of the decisions made by the president and his responsibility for these before the people, the country, and the world.

Presidential power is a new institution in the state system. It requires a qualitatively new approach to information, and we are working on this now. I think time will be needed for the system of conveying information to take shape as such. The volume of information conveyed to the president and to the country's top leadership as a whole is significant. It is important to achieve the situation where the president, in making any decision, has all the information which may affect his decisionmaking. No more and no less than is necessary. A greater volume of information may overshadow the main and important things; and incomplete information creates the danger of leaving without attention circumstances important for evaluating the situation. For its part the KGB is guided by this principle. But this is a task not just for the State Security Committee, but also for other departments. In solving this problem we are going to consider both our experience and the experience of other countries.

The preparation of information for the president will be the most important direction in our work. The best, qualified employees will be assigned to this sector. We perceive the necessity of important adjustments in the work of the information and analysis services, including those of organizational nature.

On the most complex problems concerning the country's state security, the KGB and its local bodies, as before, are going to cooperate with other ministries and departments. This is vital if we want to avoid errors and to be objective. Naturally, although I should say that we cannot complain of a shortage of attention to our information, we expect that people will be attentive to our information.

I want to add that, in its information work, the KGB does not claim the right "to have the final say." There are also other competent bodies in the country, which are charged with similar tasks. The USSR president is only able to take the best possible decisions after receiving a range of information from various sources.

Question: It is well known that state security agents sometimes provided Stalin, for example, with analytical materials and versions of events and facts which did not give the whole truth and sometimes did not correspond to reality at all, but which accorded with the ideas and conclusions of the supreme leader of the state, who falsely regarded himself as a sage. Can the Soviet people be sure that there are not and cannot be any political scoundrels in the KGB in its present formation, and that in all cases the Soviet president can rely on the work of your department, which is so essential in our times?

Answer: Without going into the detail of the relationship between Stalin and the state security organs, I will mention the well-known historical example of what happened when he, Stalin, ignored information which state security agents had gathered from various sources about the attack which fascist Germany was preparing on the Soviet Union. Even if we look at our more recent

history, we come across instances of a similar attitude to our information on the part of other leaders of the party and state. It may surprise some people, but until quite recently neither the KGB nor the USSR Foreign Ministry were involved in forecasting the consequences of certain important military and political decisions. For example, as a result of underestimating the importance of seeking political means to safeguad the security of our country, the Soviet Union allowed itself to become excessively drawn into the arms race in certain areas.

Soviet society must be reliably insured against the mistakes of the past, when decisions were often made in an authoritarian manner. And a machinery for this is being created in our country.

As regards the activities of the KGB in its present formation, as you put it, they are geared to the renewal of society, and therefore it is not part of our brief to present the country's leadership with "rosy," embellished information. Furthermore, the KGB organs have of late been operating in the conditions of democratization and glasnost. Their operations have been placed under the strict control of state structures.

As regards the "political scoundrels" whom you mentioned, even in our day they do crop up and, no doubt, the KGB is not totally immune from such people either. But the package of measures mentioned earlier, will enable us to protect ourselves against this category of person. Within the state security organs there is an entire system of information and analysis services which has been properly refined and which is not a pawn to the wishes, interpretations, or understanding of any problem by one particular person, no matter what section he works in. Every conclusion has to be confirmed by competent specialists. The relevant sub-sections of the state security organs bear responsibility for such conclusions.

Question: And the last question, closely connected with the previous one: The work of the Committee for State Security up to now has practically been under the control of the party alone. In your view, whose control should it come under now, given the existence of a president?

Answer: It is not quite correct to consider that up to now the Committee for State Security has only been under the control of the party. Control over its work was executed along various lines; by the top bodies of state power and government, the Ministry of Finance, and supervision by the procuracy. A number of legislative acts were adopted by former USSR Supreme Soviets, on whose basis the Committee for State Security bodies function.

However, you are right, in the sense that the leadership of the Committee for State Security bodies was carried out in accordance with the party line. Now the situation is fundamentally different. Constant leadership of the activity of the Committee for State Security bodies is provided by the country's president and the USSR Government on the basis of the existing Soviet legislation. Comprehensive legislation, completely satisfying us and the citizens, has not yet been worked out. The legal basis should be strengthened and we would like new laws regulating the activity of the state security bodies to appear as soon as possible. Above all, security officers are waiting for the first open [glasnyy] law on the USSR Committee for State Security. This law will be of fundamental importance for the Committee for State Security bodies. Together with other issues, the draft law provides for control over the activity of the KGB bodies on the part of the highest bodies of state power and government: the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet, the president and head of the country's government, and locally, corresponding representative bodies of power within limits set by the legislation. The USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Issues of Defense and State Security periodically hears reports from the Committee for State Security leadership and its subunits. USSR people's deputies also receive information on the activity of the USSR Committee for State Security and its subordinate organs and troops on specific issues through questions and inquiries. Control functions in accordance with legal status will also be carried out by the Presidential Council, one of whose main tasks will be developing measures to ensure the country's security.

At the same times the Committee for State Security organs are actively utilizing the institutions of democracy and glasnost. Information on the work of security officers is increasing, making it possible for us to achieve more, and primarily the support of working people, without which we cannot imagine working in the new conditions. Our contacts with labour collectives give Soviet people the opportunity to openly state their opinion of the organs of the Committee for State Security, and this also is a particular and very important form of both assistance and control.

KGB General Cited on Counterintelligence

PM2704084590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with Lieutenant General V. Sergeyev, member of the USSR KGB Collegium, by correspondent N. Burbyga under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "What Does Military Counterintelligence Do?"; date, place not given]

[Text] "In a very general way I would answer the question as follows: Military counterintelligence engages in activity aimed at ensuring the security of the country and its Armed Forces," Vasiliy Stepanovich said.

[Burbyga] But stereotypes in foreign policy are now rapidly receding into the past, and a warming of the USSR's relations with many countries is taking place. Whom does military counterintelligence counter nowadays?

[Sergeyev] Some of the mass media level rebukes in a direct or veiled form at the KGB, which is supposedly interested in preserving the "enemy image." But the

reality is that, despite a certain easing of international tension, foreign states' special services are continuing their subversive activity against the USSR. Their leadership still considers the Soviet Union the chief enemy and intends, as Robert Gates, deputy director of the U.S. CIA, declared recently, "not only not to cut back the mobilized mechanisms for intelligence activity against the Soviet Union, but also to enhance the quality and objectivity of the analytical product concerning the USSR and its Armed Forces." According to him, "intelligence and its potential will increasingly determine the U.S. side's position at the talks on reducing strategic and conventional arms." As a professional, I cannot make a lightweight assessment of these statements.

So the chief task of military counterintelligence is to expose and stop espionage and other subversive intelligence activity by foreign intelligence services.

[Burbyga] What methods and means do you use here?

[Sergeyev] The art of counterintelligence is one of the most ancient arts. It has always involved and now involves blocking measures and operational searches, deliberate misleading of the enemy and the interception of his aspirations, operational games and the concealment of what he seeks.... These are the basic work methods, which we also use, and many of them have been described in a very fascinating and full way in thrillers. Of course, they are all constantly being honed and improved, and in recent decades they have been substantially enriched by the latest technical achievements. It hardly makes sense to describe everything in detail.

[Burbyga] Is it true that the struggle against organized crime also comes within the operating sphere of military counterintelligence?

[Sergeyev] Yes, it does. Recently we have been involved in exposing many attempts by extremist and criminal elements to gain access to weapons and combat hardware through servicemen.

[Burbyga] There is increasingly frequent talk of forces opposed to perestroyka. Is countering these forces part of your task? And a question stemming from this: Are there any guarantees against distortions in such activity?

[Sergeyev] Let us start with guarantees. As I understand it, you mean guarantees ruling out the possibility of counterintelligence organs' unconstitutional activity directed against citizens of their own state, guarantees against the country's return to an authoritarian, undemocratic regime. Relapses into the past are ruled out, above all, by clear-cut legal regulation of the activities of USSR state security organs. The KGB has no right of arrest. An arrest can be made only with the approval of a prosecutor independent of us. The strengthening of legality in our work is undoubtedly promoted by presidential, parliamentary control in the form of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Questions, by Prosecutor's Office supervision of instituted and current criminal proceedings and of our preventive work, and also by broader glasnost with regard to us.

As for opponents of perestroyka, we see them both in our country and abroad. In the country their activity is manifested in extreme forms of nationalist actions and in attempts to establish ties with hostile foreign centers and organizations. Abroad there are the special services of a number of Western countries which have by no means curtailed their activity, and some of them are even stepping up their subversive efforts.

[Burbyga] Are there any actual examples?

[Sergeyev] There are many. It is known that space and radioelectronic intelligence is actively conducted against the Soviet Armed Forces. Not so long ago autonomous technical intelligence devices were discovered on an underwater cable in the Sea of Okhotsk and close to a military installation, or take the well known fact that a container literally crammed with espionage apparatus was transported by rail. Many cases of observation, photography, and even attempts by Western intelligence officers to penetrate military installations have been suppressed. But even now special services still place the chief emphasis on intelligence by agents, as witnessed both by exposures of their agents and by the scarcely isolated recruiting approaches to Soviet servicemen.

[Burbyga] Has military counterintelligence known periods which cause you pain and bitterness today?

[Sergeyev] Unfortunately, the deformation of Leninist norms in party and state life and the abuses of power during the personality cult years did not bypass military security officers. The present generation of counterintelligence officers is making a considerable effort to restore the good name of innocent people who suffered. But, to be fair, it should be pointed out that the first victims of tyranny included true security officers who came out against tyranny. There was M. Kedrov, A. Eyduk, A. Arbuzov, Ya. Berzin. More than 20,000 in all.

[Burbyga] I know that to this day military counterintelligence officers are performing their duty connected with the consequences of the Afghan war. I am speaking of the search for Soviet soldiers captured by the mujahidin....

[Sergeyev] The problem of Soviet prisoners of war and, in general, the problem of that war is not only of vital importance but also extremely delicate. It brooks no vanity. Afghanistan has passed through people's hearts.

I cannot fail to point out that the staffers of the special departments in the 40th Army have had to resolve crucial tasks. Many of them have been awarded orders and medals, and agent [operupolnomochennyy] B. Sokolov has been given the title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

Just over 300 prisoners of war are being sought today. Approximately 100 of them are in the hands of the military opposition. We know that the majority of our

people who for various reasons found themselves in captivity behaved worthily under difficult conditions. An example of this is provided by the events that occurred at (Bada-Bira) Camp in Pakistan in April 1985, when a group of Soviet servicemen was able to seize and hold it for several days, waging an unequal battle against mujahidin and regular Pakistani Army units.

Unfortunately, the leaders of rebel formations keep captured servicemen well hidden in caves and jails under vigilant guard. They frequently serve as "small change" in relations between groups under different commands, are passed from one to another, and are taken off to camps and training centers on Pakistani and Iranian territory. And then a person's trail is lost, maybe for years.

Soviet counterintelligence officers and their Afghan colleagues operate in such complex situations. They have resolved and are still resolving today tasks of securing and verifying any information relating to the actual circumstances of the events that preceded the disappearance of servicemen from their unit, and they establish the subsequent fate and location of men who have gone missing. I can proudly state that military counterintelligence officers have put a considerable amount of work into returning Soviet servicemen to the motherland, and more than 50 of them have been brought directly out of bandit formations.

[Burbyga] How do people usually get into military counterintelligence?

[Sergeyev] The nature of our service demands exceptional attention to the selection of cadres. KGB special departments are staffed mainly by officers with higher education and experience of work with personnel. The demands on the candidate's state of health and psychological stability are high. A binding condition of cadre selection is to take account of public opinion on his attitude toward service and his moral qualities. Future special department staffers receive specialized and legal training and are then sent for practical work. Drafted servicemen who have served at least one year and passed entrance examinations to one of the USSR KGB higher educational institutions may also become military security officers.

[Burbyga] Are mistakes ever made in the selection of staffers?

[Sergeyev] No one is proof against them. Incidentally, I recall in connection with your question that Richard Nixon was once turned down for FBI work but went on to become U.S. president, likewise Robert Kennedy, who held the post of attorney general. Their candidacies were rejected by FBI staffers at the first interview for the following reasons: Nixon seemed arrogant and proud, and Kennedy not persistent enough and too delicate.

Mistakes do occur in cadre selection, albeit—I will repeat—rarely. Sometimes morally unscrupulous people and careerists end up in our ranks. We rid ourselves of them without pity.

It also happens that after a while an officer who has joined us himself realizes that he has chosen the wrong profession. In such cases either we offer him work in military counterintelligence organs unconnected with the fulfillment of operational functions or he returns to the troops to continue his service.

[Burbyga] And the final question: What is the military counterintelligence budget?

[Sergeyev] We are part of the USSR KGB and, consequently, our budget is only a part of its budget. Incidentally, when V.A. Kryuchkov was approved as KGB chairman at a USSR Supreme Soviet session, he was asked the same question. He replied that we favor glasnost on this question, but there is no decision to publish the budget.

Spanish Daily Interviews Boris Yeltsin

PM2704132490 Madrid ABC in Spanish 25 apr 90 p 38

[Interview with People's Deputy Boris Yeltsin by Pino Aprile; date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Aprile] Do you believe that Gorbachev would be president of the Soviet Union if the president were elected by the people?

[Yeltsin] I am not sure.

[Aprile] You say that the government has changed since the first time your paths crossed; that previously it was more sincere, friendly.... And now?

[Yeltsin] Now it is too fond of power, the good life, and it does not tolerate cricitisms. [passage omitted describing Yeltsin's background]

[Aprile] Do you intend to establish a party?

[Yeltsin] I believe that now the last chance must be seized to radically rebuild the CPSU. If this is not achieved before the next congress, the party's split will be inevitable and others will emerge.

[Aprile] Will there be a single communist party left in the world in 10 years' time?

[Yeltsin] I consider the name unimportant. The important thing is what platform the party puts forward, what aims it sets itself and presents to the public.

[Aprile] Will the USSR remain united with the reforms, or will it disintegrate into an unpredictable number of independent countries?

[Yeltsin] As we say in my country: Ask a wizard. You would need a crystal ball. However, it is very likely that a number of republics will separate from the Soviet

Union. Until recently the republics' self-determination was only guaranteed by an article in our Constitution. Now a law has ben passed on the mechanism for implementing this constitutional provision. So the conditions really have been created for this—the republics' separation—to happen.

[Aprile] Would you agree with the Soviet Union's split into several countries?

[Yeltsin] In principle, I would prefer our country to remain whole, but if some republic were to separate, it would not be a tragedy. Nor would it be justified to use force to keep it in the USSR.

[Aprile] Do you fear the reunification of the two Germanies?

[Yeltsin] It is 45 years since the end of World War II. I believe that the time has come to reappraise certain matters—not only military, but also psychological. However, I do not share some people's enthusiasm for a reunification that will occur too soon, and I am worried by the idea of a united Germany that is part of NATO.

The ideal situation would be this: While proceeding to the reunification of the two Germanies it is necessary to proceed toward the dismantling of the two military blocs. If these two events are not simultaneous, our country would prefer a united Germany—but outside NATO.

[Aprile] You say that only a wizard could predict the USSR's future. However, I would remind you of Brezhnev's remark when informing you of your promotion to Sverdlovsk first secretary: "What! You know nothing but have decided to assume power?"

[Yeltsin] He meant it as a joke.

[Aprile] Mr. Yeltsin, you say that you have never in your life been anyone's deputy. From your first year at school you were always number one. When do you plan to be the country's number one?

[Yeltsin] Well, there are number ones at all levels. In a group of workers the foreman is number one; his deputy is number two. A factory manager, too, is number one and his deputy, number two. The chairman of the National Commission on Construction and Architecture is also number one, and his deputy, number two.

[Aprile] I am asking you whether you want to be number one, the supreme leader of the Soviet Union.

[Yeltsin] I am not currently standing for the presidency of the Soviet Union. This is by the decision of the Interregional Group (of which Yeltsin is leader—ABC editor's note) and by my own decision. I regard as a mistake the speed with which Mikhail Gorbachev wants to turn the USSR into a presidential republic. He must first resolve many things: the reorganization of the state, the power of the central and autonomous authorities, the autonomy of the republics, the approval of a number of laws to strengthen prsidential and parliamentary power, the delimitation of the president's powers and their revocation, the possibility of responding to the abuse of power by the president, the definition of relations between president, ministers, Supreme Soviet, and republican presidents. In other words, it would be a serious error to elect the president before all this happens: It would not help to make the situation more stable but, on the contrary, would increase the tension in the various national republics.

[Aprile] You are the leader of the party's left wing. Ligachev leads the right wing. Gorbachev leads the center. We seem to be witnessing an interplay among these sectors.

[Yeltsin] Gorbachev has shifted a long way to the right. He is no longer in the center, though there is only one way—the left. No more compromises and uncertainties can be accepted, and this year people will go into the streets, as has happened in other Eastern countries.

[Aprile] In that eventuality would you be willing to lead the people's protest?

[Yeltsin] Everything possible must be done to prevent things from getting out of control. I hope that Gorbachev will change his mind. During his five years in government he has adopted half-decisions, and the situation has not improved for the people. If people's anger, accumulated over decades, were to explode in the streets we would have to try to keep this process within civilized limits, as happened in Czechoslovakia and other countries. We cannot risk what happened in Romania. We cannot accept civil war. We must avert it in every possible way.

[Aprile] When you fell into disgrace and were expelled from the party leadership your family were to some extent involved in your problems. Did they suffer any practical copnsequences?

[Yeltsin] Not at all, except for the fact that burglars entered the house.

Comments on Lithuania

LD2904143790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1155 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] Madrid, Apr 29 (TANJUG)—"In case I become, president of the Russian Republic, I will not question Lithuania's independence," has stated leader of the radical reformers' stream in Soviet parliament Boris Yeltsin who arrived in Spain from London for taking part this weekend's international seminar in Cordoba dedicated to "new humanism."

As he put it, democracy in the Soviet Union must have its starting point in the autonomies of its republics. He added that if he came to power in the Soviet Russian Republic he would go in for negotiations and contractual relations with Baltic just as all other republics.

Asked what he thought about the Soviet leader who enjoys great popularity here, Yeltsin said that now he was no longer sympathetic to Gorbachev whom he liked in the past.

Yeltsin hoped that the voice of his followers rallied around the democratic platform would impose itself at the next congress of the party, but, "should they not want to listen to us," said he, "our platform followers would leave the ranks of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to set up a political party of their own."

AUCCTU Chief Favors 'Social Contract'

LD3004085390 Moscow TASS in English 0830 GMT 30 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 30 TASS—"We want relations between the government and trade unions to be built on mutual respect and partnership," All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU) Leader Gennadiy Yanayev said in an interview with the government HERALD WEEKLY.

"Aware of the current state of the economy, trade unions proceed from the premise that the maximal and extreme demands will not facilitate the quest for sensible and acceptable solutions," Yanayev stressed.

"In the future we propose to build relations between trade unions and the government based on a kind of a 'social contract,' a national collective treaty signed for a year or longer period of time," Yanayev points out.

"On the basis on this treaty, sectoral union central committees, heads of industries and lower links would conclude their own collective agreements. This campaign and control over the fulfillment of agreements reached would become the groundwork for trade unions' economic and social work and the fulfillment by them of their protective functions."

Yanayev believes that the introduction of market relations will inevitably affect the living standards of large groups of working people, aggravating the problems of poverty, unemployment and social protection, especially of elderly and young people.

"Hence, we should cooperate in order to find and build reliable 'social shock absorbers' into the market mechanism. Consensus betweeen the government and trade unions on all issues can be expected only on this basis," Yanayev stressed.

"Trade unions must take firm positions and, moreover, develop alternative proposals that will be met with the understanding by the working people and, at the same time, be distinguished by realism and competence," Yanayev emphasised.

Constutitional Oversight Committee Sworn In

PM2804191990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Apr 90 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Sworn In"]

[Text] This is the first time that this ceremony, which is at the same time both solemn and businesslike, has taken place in our country. It will only be repeated in 10 years' time. This is present-day perestroyka and at the same time an historic act. A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, administered the oath 27 April in the Kremlin to the persons elected to the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee in accordance with Article 7 of the USSR Law "On Constitutional Oversight in the USSR."

The text of the oath reads as follows: "I solemnly do swear to conscientiously perform my duties as a member of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee and to obey all provisions of the USSR Constitution and nothing else." Committee Chairman S.S. Alekseyev was the first to take the oath. Committee Deputy Chairman V.M. Lazarev and Committee Members A.M. Abramovich, A. Agzamkhodzhayev, M. Annanepesov, S.S. Boskholov, F.G. Burchak, A.G. Bykov, R.I. Ivanova, G.Z. Intskirveli, L.M. Karapetyan, S.A. Mirzoyev, I.Sh. Muksinov, M.I. Piskotin, A.I. Smokina, V.K. Sobakin, G.K. Tolstoy, R. Torgunbekov, O. Usmanov, V.D. Filimonov, and Sh.Sh. Yagudin swore and signed the same oath.

Addressing the elected members of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee, A.I. Lukyanov said:

"I countersign your oath and thus, from this moment, you embark on the state duties with which the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet have entrusted you."

Cordially congratulating and wishing them success, the USSR Supreme Soviet chairman pointed out that the Constitutional Oversight Committee has been entrusted with a highly important duty which is directly linked with the strengthening and observance of legality and law in the country and the establishment of a Soviet rule-of-law state. This is a great and difficult task. It requires the precise fulfillment of the USSR Constitution, its provisions, and norms and observance of the constitutional guarantees and rights of Soviet citizens of all nationalities.

The USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee includes representatives of most union republics, prominent Soviet lawyers, and persons who are firmly devoted to the law, A.I. Lukyanov said. He expressed confidence that the committee will successfully cope wih its lofty responsible mission.

S.S. Alekseyev assured the country's body of deputies and the whole Soviet people that all members of the

USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee will honestly, conscientiously, and courageously do their duty in a civic spirit and follow the path of truth and humane, democratic socialism.

The USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee took up its duties on the same day.

Specialist Comments on Chernobyl Aftermath

PM2604102190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Apr 90 Morning Edition pp 1, 6

[Interview with I. Kambulov, leading specialist with the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Emergency Situations, by A. Illesh: "After the Disaster of the Century"—no place or date of interview given; first four paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] Chernobyl is no occasion for festive jubilee celebrations. This event does not recede into history, it is always with us. The pain, alarm, and problems caused by the most major disaster of the 20th century tangibly affect our entire life—politics, the economy, morality.

The 120,000 evacuees (and additional evacuations are scheduled), more than 600,000 "liquidators," 3 million people now living on territories contaminated by radiation (including more than 700,000 children)—all this, no matter how paradoxical it may sound, is part of our everyday life....

Our shared grief is four years old. IZVESTIYA did not lose sight of it for a single month. Now the country's Supreme Soviet will begin discussing a single global program to liquidate the consequences of the 20th century's largest disaster. A series of important state documents have already been adopted. Ministries and departments are at long last declassifying data making it possible to take a closer look at the situation prevailing around Chernobyl. The situation is critical.

The USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Emergency Situations receives information from all organizations involved to some extent or another in the Chernobyl problems. Our conversation, based on readers' letters (which continue to arrive at IZVESTIYA every day) is with I. Kambulov, leading specialist with the commission.

[Illesh] Igor Nikolayevich, you personally have spent quite a long time in the zone, where, of course, you had occasion to meet people whose health has been damaged as a result of work to liquidate the accident's consequences. Virtually one in two Chernobyl letters we receive is a cry for help, a story about a crippled life or ruined health.... At long last the Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU [All-Union Council of Trade Unions] recently adopted a resolution on measures to improve medical services and social security for these people. What are this document's provisions?

[Kambulov] First of all, 1990 will see the introduction of additional medical screening of all workers (including those on temporary assignment or posting) from enterprises and organizations, ministries and departments, state, soviet, and party organs, and public organizations, servicemen from military units and KGB organs, and senior and rank-and-file personnel of internal affairs organs who took part in liquidating the consequences of the Chernobyl AES [nuclear power station] accident within the 30-km zone, and also servicemen of the reserve who were especially called up to perform work associated with the liquidation of this accident's consequences, regardless of where they were posted or the nature of the work they did. These people must be guaranteed constant outpatient observation and, whenever necessary, hospitalization of those who are found to be sick, as well as priority service in preventive treatment and pharmacy institutions.

It is also planned to use the facilities of a series of leading medical institutions in the country to set up the required number of rehabilitation centers for participants in the liquidation of the Chernobyl AES accident's consequences.

[Illesh] Frequent mention is made nowadays of a union-wide register, some sort of list to record the names of all who have gone through Chernobyl. How complete is it? I am not asking out of idle curiosity, I personally know people who spent a long time working in the zone but whose names do not appear on any register. I myself was there during the difficult days, but my name does not appear on any register. At any rate, medical personnel never showed any interest in my health or my colleagues' health....

[Kambulov] I find it difficult to answer on the medical personnel's behalf about the extent to which the currently existing register is correct. But I am aware of the complaints about it. IZVESTIYA has given the number of people who took part in liquidating the accident—about 600,000. It is very important to ensure that every single one of them is listed in the State Register now being compiled on the basis of the All-Union Distributed Register. Ministries and departments have been instructed to clarify their own lists of persons exposed to radiation and pass them over to the Ministry of Health during the first six months of this year. This information should accurately show the dates of work in the zone, the radiation doses, and the results of medical screening. Naturally, it is necessary to especially monitor those who took part in work in the Chernobyl AES zone during the most complex periods in 1986-1987. After all, dosages during the initial months of work were quite high, and you probably remember what dosimetry monitoring was like.

[Illesh] A document was published recently (USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU Resolution No. 325), on the basis of which people in Chernobyl can enjoy benefits. We constantly hear it said: The state does not have enough money to implement vitally important programs. What would be the "cost" of this resolution?

[Kambulov] It is hard to give a precise figure for direct costs, since most of the benefits concern the social sphere and will be implemented through different programs, but the estimated amount is not all that large—about R5 million.

[Illesh] Our newspaper once tried to accurately establish where the money from Account No. 904 was spent. Alas, there are plenty of blank spots in this matter. Please help us to work it out and offer accurate accounting—Where? How much? For what purpose?

[Kambulov] Let me resort to Ministry of Finance data.

Account No. 904810 was opened in May 1986. It's full name is "Fund To Help Liquidate the Consequences of the Accident at Chernobyl AES." Between May 1986 and December 1989 it received R543.3 million from citizens, enterprises, organizations, ministries, and departments. An amount of R532.1 million was spent during that period.

The sum of R425 million was channeled into capital investment to build housing and social, everyday, and municipal facilities for those who were resettled away from the danger zone.

A sum of R35.2 million was allocated for the payment of compensation to the population of certain rayons in Kiev, Zhitomir, and Gomel Oblasts in respect of lost property, fruit and berry crops, and uninsured animals. The USSR Ministry of Finance allocated R0.15 million in January 1988 to Soyuzkhimfarmtorg [All-Union Office for Trade in Chemical-Pharmaceutical Goods and Hygiene Requisites] for the acquisition of reagents, and R5.8 million in March 1988 to the Belorussian State Agro-Industrial Committee in respect of condemned meat. Following a court decision, the sum of R5.8 million was returned as having been improperly paid out of voluntary donations....

[Illesh] There have been press reports that a sizable amount of the money collected from the people was put to use by the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation. Please explain: Who gave permission for this, and where did the money go?

[Kambulov] Indeed, the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation did receive R65.8 million from this account. The money was paid over by virtue of a decision of the USSR Council of Ministers. This is what it was spent on: Decontamination in the exclusion zone, dust suppression, construction of burial grounds, the setting up of stations for washing down means of transportation, railroad track detours—a total of R4.2 million. Guarding of the evacuation zone—R4.2 million. Building water protection facilities along the Pripyat River, facilities for the decontamination of equipment, and other projects not directly associated with the AES—R35.2 million. Building the "Zelenyy Mys" tour-of-duty settlement for participants in the liquidation of the accident's consequences—R3.2 million. Supplementary payments to the "liquidators" accounted for R13.0 million. A further R6 million went on other expenses associated with operations within the 30-km zone and with the evacuation.

[Illesh] How much money is left in Account No. 904?

[Kambulov] The balance on 1 January was R11.2 million.

[Illesh] The total amount of the state's losses as a result of the accident was given a few years ago as being about R4 billion. It increased somewhat later. What is your present estimate of the losses due to Chernobyl, and how much greater will they be in, say, five years' time?

[Kambulov] The economic losses due to the Chernobyl AES accident and the liquidation of its consequences amounted to R9.2 billion at the end of last year. The USSR Supreme Soviet session is due to examine questions associated with the definition of necessary expenditure and the allocation of funds for the liquidation of the Chernobyl AES accident's consequences in 1991-1995. The amounts will naturally increase after that. They will also increase in subequent years.

[Illesh] During the first few days following the accident people were extremely short of information—precise and correct information. At that time the departments involved simply concealed the truth from the people. Can we now be said to have enough information about Chernobyl?

[Kambulov] The mass media today are simply flooded with reports—it would seem that people have learned everything about what happened. The harsh criticism is perfectly justified—it is only a profound awareness of all aspects of the disaster that will make it possible to avoid a repetition of mistakes in the future. Self-purification in our society is the only reliable way out of the blind alley. But here we have a paradox: Newspapers and television are raging and exposing (and this is correct!), while residents in the contaminated rayons lack the elementary knowledge of how they should act and what they should do in specific circumstances....

[Illesh] One last question. The number and size of contaminated areas on the maps showing contamination after the accident increase each year. This, in my view, is indicative not so much of investigative work which "discovers" new contaminated areas, but of gains by glasnost whereby specialists are forced to make public things that formerly were professional secrets. In this context, please assess the danger (or lack thereof?) in the contaminated areas which have appeared on the latest maps in Kursk and Orel Oblasts.

[Kambulov] The existing borders of radioactive contamination of territories remain virtually unchanged—that is my answer to your question. And the package of experimental work and studies carried out by the State Committee for Hydrometeorology, coupled with mathematical modeling of the process of wind directions and

movement of radioactive aerosols, indicates: Secondary contamination of localities as a result of these processes is insignificant and cannot lead to the formation of new contamination zones. Specialists have yet to assess the fresh contamination data which were recently published. But I do not think that there is any significant danger.... Nonetheless, the Russian Federation government is now examining the question of additional evacuation of residents from contaminated rayons. Let me make this clear: The question of evacuation is now fully within the powers of republics themselves.

'Problems of Socialism' Program Reviewed

LD2704171890

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1528 GMT on 27 April carries the 46-minute "Problems of Socialism" program on a conference that took place at the CPSU Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute. An announcer-read introduction notes that representatives from various political areas participated in the conference: communists, including those adhering to the Democratic Platform, nonparty people, and representatives of the Social-Democratic Association. The subject of the roundtable was: "Problems of Socialism: Reality and Prospects."

The first speaker shown is Professor Andrey Zdravomyslov, a sociologist, doctor of philosophical sciences, and departmental head at the Marxism-Leninism Institute, who outlines three views of socialism's condition in the light of recent events: first, that socialism and communism have collapsed; second, that perestroyka has fallen apart; and third, that the totalitarian system has collapsed. The third view is the most realistic, in Zdravomyslov's opinion.

He cites a sociological survey conducted in Moscow and its oblast that shows that 55 percent of ordinary people and almost 60 percent of communists think that a system combining socialist and capitalist features is most likely to arise. About nine percent believe in socialism alone, seven percent in a return to capitalism, and three percent in the old view that all peoples will arrive at communism in the future. These data show the ways things are going, Zdravomyslov says. The party can be seen to be moving away from the 1986 program and taking a more sober view of things. Ideal expressed in 1986. It is looking at the construction of a normal society, rather than the communist ideal.

Aleksey Aleksyevich Prigarin, director of the organization of Production Management Center and a representative of the Moscow Party Club, which has joined the Democratic Platform, is next to speak. He says: We can call this a general crisis of socialism. History has shown that public ownership of the means of production does not alone bring happiness to mankind. This concentration of powers in the hands of the state was unprecedented, especially since Lenin said that the state is a machine which inevitably rusts if appropriate measures are not taken. What is coming to an end before our eyes is state socialism.

Prigarin ends by commenting on the CPSU Platform for the 28th congress: "It is a pretty amorphous platform which attempts to embrace the unembraceable, and to combine the uncombineable, and it will not promote the party's development, because at today's stage it is necesary to take clear ideological stances. So different tendencies could form, and if necessary split off organizationally."

Professor Ivan Ivanovich Antonovich, doctor of philosophical sciences, prorector of the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee, says that the two questions about socialism are "will it survive?," and "what will the world be like without socialism?" The world would be a lot worse off without socialism, he says. It is true that socialism is dying, and not being replacd everywhere by the new socialism. Perestroyka will only be a success if we pick up the thread of continuity. We need a party programme in order to go on.

Professor Boris Slavin, doctor of philosophical sciences, asks Antonovich whether he views communism only as an ideal, or whether it logically follows on from socialism. Antonovich replies that it may arise in the future, but is not doing so now.

This exchange is followed by a contribution by Igor Olegovich Malyarov, a candidate of economic sciences, a lecturer at Moscow State University, and a member of the United Front of Working People. "Common human" and "all-People's" values, which are now being propounded by supporters of perestroyka, are actually ideas from the stagnation period, he says. They allow a corrupt elite to set itself up at the opposite pole from the working people, who even lose any insignificant gains they had already made. The party is now striving to express the interests of all the people. Yet since different group interests are often opposing in nature, the class nature of the party needs to be defined in the CPSU Platform. Will the CPSU defend the interests of the USSR's 100,000 millionaires or of corrupted state apparatchiks? He asks. He goes on:

"Because of this; because at the very start of perestroyka we did not give an answer to the question of what kind of society we are living in, that we are living in a society of a transitional type and a society in which different social groups live—classes with different interests, really—from this there arose a profound replacement of the idea of perestroyka. Perestroyka was, after all, begun with the fine slogan of making every person a master in this country. Yet what has now happened in practice? In practice, what has turned out is impoverishment of those who live by their labor, impoverishment of pensioners; and a corrupted, speculating, bourgeois stratum of our society from top to bottom. We must involve every person on the running of the country, and this can only be done through the production structure. But what do

we hear from our pseudo-democrats? We hear slogans about depoliticizing the enterprises. Incidentally, comrades, the workers understand this very well. They say: This is it, we will work and they will engage in politics. That model is being imposed as the way toward democratization. A policy made outside the labor collectives will always be an anti-labor policy, a policy for people with money and contacts."

Malyarav concludes that public opinion such as that does not form by itself. He accuses television of showing only noncommunist viewpoints: "Let the communists say something, too, within the framework of multiparty pluralism."

Professor Mikhail Petrovich Mchedlov, doctor of philosophical sciences and deputy director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute, then says that there are too many commonly venerated idols: People want to hold on to soviets, collective farms, ministries, and so on simply because they view these as representing socialism. Yet there should be scope for using various forms which are not identical to socialism.

Malyarov objects to this, and argues with Mchedlov about whether Lenin approved of capitalist forms.

Professor Robert Tucker from Princetown University then thanks those assembled for being invited as an observer, and makes some remarks about Stalin, refuting the view that he was the most consistent of socialists.

Oleg Tumayevich Vitte, a sociologist at the Leningrad branch of the Sociology Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, member of the editorial board of the OBNOVLENIYE newspaper, representative of the Leningrad Association of Communists who support the Democratic Forum and representative of the Leningrad Popular Front, is next to speak. The CPSU Central Committee's platform is very traditional, with too much ideology, he thinks. Yet there is room for a compromise between this and the Democratic Forum platform.

Malyarov asks Vitte if he thinks any major economic transformation can really be made without ideology.

Vyacheslav Alekseyevich Nikonov, departmental head at the CPSU Central Committee Ideology Department, doctor of historical sciences, and a specialist on recent U.S. history, then puts forward the view that the CPSU Central Committee draft program is a compromise document which is not intended to cause divisions. Yet intraparty ideological differences do not have to lead to organizational splits; instead it is the normal condition, and in fact a sign of strength and dynamism, for any party, especially one operating in a multiparty system. A split in the party would doom the divided parts to stagnation, because they would embrace such a small section of the political spectrum that they would turn into sects.

Although the party's class orientation is not defined in the platform, Nikonov considers that this issue is best left to the academics. The CPSU does have social aims, though, he says.

Third, Nikonov says, the Democratic Platform must not be pushed out of the party, because both sides would be the worse for it. Although it differs with Nikonov's Ideological Department and the Central Committee itself on organizational issues, they share common social goals: "For this reason, I would like to call on all of us to give first place to what unites everyone rather than disunites them".

In conclusion, Academician Georgiy Lukich Smirnov thanks everyone for coming to the meeting. He states that the principal issues are those of the correlation between socialism and the CPSU Central Committee Platform, and the extent to which de-ideologization should take place. He continues: "It is clear that if we employ the same persistence and harshness in pursuing ideological interests as we did under Stalin and later in the relations between states with different political systems, we will bring mankind to ruin." He said that when foreigners accuse him of playing down the importance of the class struggle, he will reply that they should engage in class struggles or pursue their interests themselves, as they are now free to do under the new relaxed international conditions. There is nothing to stop us seeing differences of views and interests, even as we remove superfluous ideology from areas where it does not belong, Smirnov concludes.

Economic

Ryzhkov Rules Out 'Shock Treatment' for Economy

LD2904035190 Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] The government has adjourned the program to radicalize the national economy toward market. Our parliamentary correspondent Maksim Tkachenko has more.

[Tkachenko] The program will be announced before this month is out but Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov gave reporters to understand the government Presidential Council and leading economists have not yet agreed upon either the radicalism of the reform or ways to carry it out. Ryzhkov said the reform will be announced next month but refused to specify.

[Begin Ryzhkov recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] We believe the head of government must report on the national economic situation next May and suggest at once a set of rules to further the economic reform so as to move toward regulated market relations next year. [end recording]

[Announcer] The necessity to radicalize the economic reform was stated officially and for the first time in President Mikhail Gorbachev's inaugural speech on 15

March. No details were supplied. The media have since come up with many guesses about the character of this reform and where it will lead to. They predict both an upsurge of prices of most consumer goods and unemployment and they often recall the shock treatment of the Mazowiecki government in Poland. Premier Ryzhkov asked reporters in the Kremlin to stop intimidating people with shock treatment and whipping up passions. He said no economic reforms in this country will follow in Poland's footsteps.

[Begin Ryzhkov recording] Almost every day we thrash out all questions with economists and factory managers. We don't need a program that would immediately send down living standards. There isn't going to be any shock treatment. The turn must be well balanced. We mustn't markedly destabilize either political or economic affairs. We support an onward movement, but believe that every step must be thought out first. We must jump into the unknown. We are often blamed for indecision, but a government as a rule must assume the centrist position. I must listen to the left-wingers and must not accept what the right-wingers have to propose. [end recording]

[Announcer] Nikolay Ryzhkov said he was opposed to (?wild) market relations, galloping prices, and proposals to allow land privatization. The premier also said this country would like to get credits.

[Begin Ryzhkov recording] Of course, I would say that we need credits, but it will be very difficult to get them if the political situation in this country is unstable. It would be a good thing to have credits to pass the period of transition to market and modernize the national economy. [end recording]

Energy Chief Vasilyev Discusses Policy

PM2704131290 Paris LE MONDE in French 27 Apr 90 pp 31, 34

[Interview with Mr. Vasilyev, head of the Energy Bureau of the USSR Council of Ministers, by Veronique Maurus in Paris—date not given]

[Text] [Maurus] Western experts are wondering about the drop in Soviet oil production. Is it possible to talk of an energy crisis in the USSR?

[Vasilyev] No, there is no trend which suggests the existence of a crisis. Generally speaking, the energy sector is ensuring a reliable supply to all sectors—industry, agriculture, transportation, and domestic supply. Each sector has particular characteristics.

Oil production is stable, it rose from 595 million to 607 million tonnes between 1985 and 1989. At present, our experts are discussing the need to set a maximum volume on that production. What will that level be? The margin under discussion is low. The debate on leveling off production is economic: Is it worth increasing production, especially in the most costly fields? We are observing that in general oil production costs are increasing.

Gas is the most dynamic sector and will continue to be developed. Gas production increased from 643 billion cubic meters in 1985 to 796 billion cubic meters in 1989.

With regard to coal, production will continue to increase, notably in the opencut mines which represent 40 percent of the total. Production increased from 726 million to 740 million tonnes from 1985 to 1989.

We are also speeding up development of the processing of gas and coal. For instance, we plan to considerably increase the production of coal briquettes for domestic use; we are continuing research on the liquefaction of coal. Similarly, we have projects in the gas sphere aimed at the production of the heaviest hydrocarbons like butane.

The development of electricity is still more rapid than that of other sources of energy, although we have some problems to overcome. The 26 April will be the fourth anniversary of the Chernobyl accident. That tragedy naturally had damaging effects on the development of the nuclear industry. Its pace has slowed down, although we have been obliged to step up the production of the conventional thermal power stations. The modernization of the latter has suffered and we have not been able to achieve the objectives of the rational utilization of energy in this sector.

[Maurus] What are the new priorities of the energy policy? Is it possible to talk of a new policy?

[Vasilyev] This policy cannot be regarded as entirely new. We are continuing the same long-term strategy but making additions and modifications.

We have three priorities: First to improve domestic supply. For instance, we want to develop electrification and the rational uses of energy in the domestic sector.

The second priority is the protection of the environment. A bill will shortly be put forward which will contain regulations strictly limiting the level of emissions into the atmosphere, and establishing a rational utilization of water and agricultural land. We are also making provision for economic sanctions against the enterprises and bodies whose activity does not correspond to the standards introduced, and special funds for environment policy.

Two of the 15 national research and development programs are concerned with energy. One, adopted on a complementary basis, relates to nuclear fusion, and the other to "clean" energy: the development of highly reliable nuclear reactors, new thermal power stations using solid fuel, renewable energy sources, and the fuel of the future like hydrogen.

The third priority is the rational use of energy.

[Maurus] What are your objectives in this sphere?

[Vasilyev] During the next five years, we want to double energy savings. Since 1985, we have managed to save 30 million tonnes of oil equivalent on average per year, in other words 150 million tonnes in five years. For the next five-year plan, from 1990 to 1995, in view of the existing energy situation, we want to double this figure and save 300 million tonnes of oil equivalent in five years.

This will not be easy. The necessary measures are very costly, but this is nonetheless a direction which we absolutely must follow.

Numerous Scenarios

[Maurus] What will you do in practical terms?

[Vasilyev] We have the scientific and technical potential but, in the general economic context of perestroyka, we will have to entirely change our approaches to management. We must establish economic methods which make possible automatic incentives, a kind of "self-management" of resources.

[Maurus] Will you take action on energy prices?

[Vasilyev] This is a fundamental element. At present, energy prices in the USSR are too low. The cost of energy, for instance, is not more than 2 percent or 4 percent of the cost of industrial products. These prices are not an incentive for energy savings.

We are now working on the adjustment of energy prices. We must solve this problem before the end of the year. The cost of energy will increase on the domestic market. By how much? I cannot answer that, there are many scenarios. A ceiling could be set by the state. Some economists are recommending that producers be allowed to fix the prices themselves, but I do not think that this viewpoint will prevail.

[Maurus] Do you have a budget for this savings program?

[Vasilyev] At the current prices, a tonne of conventional energy costs 240 rubles [R] to produce and deliver to the consumer. Energy savings measures cost between R90 and R120 per tonne. If energy prices are increased it will be financially more profitable to make savings. But industrial prices will also change, and it is therefore very difficult to put a figure on this program. It will take around R2 billion or R3 billion at the current prices to achieve our objectives during the next five-year plan.

[Maurus] What is the purpose of your visit to Paris?

[Vasilyev] We have asked our French colleagues to help us by giving us advice on methods of implementing this policy in the context of a market economy.

PRAVDA Reports 'Bleak' Industrial Statistics

LD2904141990 Moscow TASS in English 1127 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 29 TASS—Production in the Soviet Union continued to decline during the first three months of 1990 and inflation is set to cut loose, the national daily PRAVDA said today.

Commenting on recent bleak industrial statistics, it blamed the shrinking output primarily on strikes and the costs of economic restructuring programs.

Whereas last September, at the peak of the miners' strike, work stoppages involved an average 100,000 people daily, in the first quarter of this year, the figure rose to 130,000, the paper said.

Changing the pattern of production also had its costs: While the output of consumer goods during the first quarter grew by 4.7 per cent, that of capital goods plummeted by 3.2 per cent.

In addition, production shortfalls, PRAVDA said, were obviously due to increasingly unstable economic relations and diminishing incentives for efficiency.

"Destructive processes in the economy gathered momentum. The mass of money kept burgeoning at an ever faster pace. Its growth rate now is an estimated six to eight times higher than in the early 1980s.

"Escalating financial crisis took us to the edge beyond which suppressed inflation will break into the open regardless of the government's or trade unions' will," PRAVDA said.

It noted quickly decreasing trade with COMECON countries, persistent large deficit in trade relations with capitalist nations, which totaled 0.9 billion rubles in the first three months of the year, and mounting foreign liabilities.

The world price of oil, the Soviet Union's chief export commodity, is low again. The country passed up the chance to take advantage of the favorable market early in the year.

January-March Economic Results Reported

PM2904080090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Apr 90 Morning Edition pp 3-4

[USSR State Statistics Committee report: "The USSR's Socioeconomic Development in the First Quarter of 1990"]

[Text] In the first quarter of the current year steps have been taken to improve the country's economy and step up its social reorientation.

Production of some types of nonfood consumer goods has increased appreciably. The absolute growth in retail trade turnover was 1.7 times greater than in the first quarter of last year. A trend was recorded toward closer

proximity between the growth rates of money incomes and expenditure by the population on goods and services.

However, steady and balanced development of the national economy was not achieved. In the period just-ended social production was allowed to decline, mainly owing to significant worktime losses resulting from strikes and interethnic conflicts in a number of regions of the country and to a decline in production volumes in defense complex sectors resulting from conversion and not fully compensated by increased output of civilian products. The reduction of production volumes was also affected by the closure or temporary shutdown of many industrial enterprises failing to meet increased environmental protection demands and by a decline in production and labor organization standards. The volume of output undelivered to consumers increased as a consequence of violations of contract discipline.

State budget expenditure is still growing ahead of revenues, and wages are growing faster than labor productivity. The issue of money continues, with the total amount in circulation continuing to exceed the supply of goods and so prevent a situation of balance in the consumer market. Foreign trade turnover declined. The balance on foreign trade remains negative.

The country's socioeconomic development in the first quarter is characterized by the following main indicators:

[In the following table, figures tagged "(1)" relate to footnote which reads "according to total of enterprises' and organizations' plans"]

		Actual figure, first quarter of 1990	
	A	B	C
	1990 Plan (or estimate) billion rubles (in actual prices)	billion rubles (in actual prices)	percentage of first quarter of 1989 (in comparable prices)
Volume of industrial output	941.5	229	98.8
Production of consumer goods			
(in retail prices)	486.7	111.2	106.3
including:			
Food goods	156.0	34.5	101.9
Alcoholic drinks	51.5	13.5	110.9
Nonfood goods	279.2	63.2	108.0
of which			
light industry goods	110.3	25.5	101.7
Fixed capital commissioned from centralized state capital investments and enterprise and organization funds (estimated value)	188.4(1)	16.9	99.1
State capital investments (estimated value):			
centralized	83.6	14.6	73
enterprise and organization funds	105.1(1)	18.1	112
Freight shipments (dispatch) by transport in public use, billion tonnes	13.4	2.9	95.2
Public transport passenger turnover, billion passenger-kilometers	1162	246	102.1
Profit on the national economy	200.8	48.6	92.6
Wages fund for workers and employees in the national economy	366.6	93	108.5
Payments and allowances to the population from social consumption funds	204	45.9	108.0
Retail turnover in state and cooperative trade	443.0	107.2	111.3
Paid consumer services	76.2	15.7	107.5
Housing commissioned from all sources of finance, million square meters' total area	144.0	16.0	91

GNP fell in the past quarter by one percent in comparison with the corresponding period last year, **produced national income** fell by two percent, and **social labor productivity** fell by 2.2 percent.

Inflation in the consumer sector was around eight percent compared with the first quarter of 1989, taking into account the rise in prices for goods and paid services as well as the increase in unsatisfied effective demand (concealed inflation).

Over 136 million people were employed in all spheres of national economic activity (as against 135 million in the first quarter of 1989), of whom 118.8 million were in the state sector (including workers and employees of a number of departments not previously counted in this figure), 10.4 million on collective farms [kolkhoz], 3.3 million in cooperatives (not counting people doing a second job), 3.5 million on personal subsidiary plots, and 0.3 million in individual labor activity. There are over 30,000 citizens working at joint-venture enterprises (as against 8,000 at the beginning of last year).

The number of people working in cooperatives (including those with a second job) was over 5 million on 1 April. Construction cooperatives, which employ around one-third of all people working in this sector of the economy, are showing the fastest rate of growth. One cooperative worker in six is employed in consumer goods production and one in eight in the consumer services sphere. In accordance with decisions taken to regulate the activity of individual areas of cooperative development, the growth of certain types of cooperatives is slowing down and in some cases their number has even fallen (trade and purchasing cooperatives and pubic catering cooperatives).

Cadre turnover in the state sector has increased, which is connected to a certain extent with the development of different forms of ownership and economic management. The number of workers and employees who have switched to cooperatives, joint ventures, and so forth has risen substantially. Enforced population migration is having an adverse effect on the retention of cadres. There are 0.6 million refugees in the country at present.

The state of labor discipline is not improving. Idle times have increased sharply, owing to a considerable extent to the increased number of strikes and mass absenteeism related to interethnic conflicts. Work time losses due to this factor amounted to 9.4 million man-days in the first quarter, with direct output losses (work not done) of R0.82 billion. As a result more than 130,000 people a day on average failed to turn up for work (in September 1989 when mass absenteeism in the country was at its peak the figure was around 100,000).

Finances and Money Circulation

The formation of state budget revenue is proceeding with difficulty. Budget receipts from payments from the profit (income) of state enterprises and organizations are falling. In January-March receipts were R1.7 billion less than in the first quarter of last year. The quarterly plan was 91 percent fulfilled.

The budget received R29.3 billion in turnover tax or 10 percent more than in the corresponding period last year.

With the aim of balancing the supply of goods and money and reducing the state budget deficit, measures have begun to be implemented to develop new ways of utilizing the surplus money resources of the population and enterprises. A state internal loan is being issued and floated among state, cooperative, and social enterprises and organizations and credit institutions on a voluntary basis; specific interest-free loans against the acquisition of durable goods have begun to be raised among the population, receipts from which will be used to finance general state, interregional, and intersectoral programs and, first and foremost, the solution of social tasks.

In January-March the profit of enterprises and organizations was R3.9 billion less than in the same period last year. The plan was fulfilled by 106 percent. Payment discipline is not improving.

Credit investments in the national economy in January-February fell by R4.0 billion to stand at R386.8 billion on 1 March.

Population's Incomes

The **average monthly money wage** of workers and employees totaled R257 in the first quarter—an increase of almost nine percent; the labor remuneration of kolkhoz members totaled R184—an increase of 10 percent.

The wage growth was due largely to the implementation of measures to increase wages funded from the state budget, increased rewards for annual results and long service, and the continued transition to new wage and salary scales. As from 1 January 1990 higher salaries are being paid to employees of libraries, club establishments, and museums and exhibitions located in the Northern Economic Region, the Far East, Siberia, the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], and a number of other localities. The volume of budget appropriations set aside for these purposes in 1990 totals R200 million. As from 1 March new wage rates have also been introduced for state arbitration organ employees.

The population received around R46 billion in **payments and benefits from social consumption funds**, which is R3.4 billion or eight percent more than in the first quarter of last year.

As from 1 January 1990 the monthly allowance paid to people disabled from childhood, of whom there are more than 700,000 at the moment, has been increased to R70. Minimum and maximum pensions of people living in the Far North have been increased by applying regional wage supplements in calculating them.

As from the beginning of the current year a procedure has also been introduced whereby retired people who continue to work as workers or skilled operators receive their pensions in full; this also applies to disability allowances (irrespective of the amount of wages).

The population's **money incomes** totaled R149.8 billion and increased by R17.6 billion or 13.3 percent in comparison with January-March 1989 (against plan estimates of 7.3 percent for the year). One-seventh of the increase in the population's money incomes is accounted for by wage increases paid out in cooperatives. The population's expenditure on goods and services (consumer expenditure) increased by 12.8 percent.

The population's deposits in branches of the USSR Savings Bank totaled R351.3 billion—an increase of R13.5 billion over the three-month period. The increase in deposits totaled 22 percent in comparison with the corresponding period of last year. In addition, USSR Savings Bank certificates still held by the population totaled R3.3 billion. Payments of insurance compensation and insurance sums to the population totaled R2.4 billion.

Consumer Market and the Service Sphere

The total consumer goods output volume increased by R6.6 billion in comparison with the first quarter of last year. This increase was obtained mainly as a result of the increased output of goods for cultural and daily life purposes, with an insignificant increase in the production of food and light industry goods.

The production of individual types of foodstuffs in 1989 is characterized by the following figures: [Columns in the following table represent: Column A: "Production in first quarter of 1990;" Column B: "Percentage of plan fulfillment;" Column C: "First quarter of 1990 as percentage of first quarter of 1989"]:

	A	B	C
Meat, (from state resource raw materials) million tonnes	2.9	105	94
Sausage products, thousand tonnes	988	102	100.8
Butter, (from state resource raw materials) thousand tonnes	297	116	108
Wholemilk products in milk equivalent, (from state resource raw materials) million tonnes	8.4	103	102
Full fat cheese, (from state resource raw materials) thousand tonnes	192	106	100.1
Edible fish products, including canned fish, million tonnes	1.6	106	97
Margarine products, thousand tonnes	419	101	104
Vegetable oil (from state resource raw materials) thousand tonnes	875	100.5	98
Granulated sugar, million tonnes	1.5	109	101
Bread and bakery products, million tonnes	7	100.8	99.4
Cooking salt (extracted), million tonnes	2.7	103	95
Confectionery products million tonnes	1.4	103	103
Canned food, billion standard cans	4	113	98
of which canned fruit and vegetables	2.5	117	94
Mineral water, million dekaliters	38.2	103	97
Nonalcoholic beverages, million dekaliters	105	105	100.6
Alcoholic beverages (in terms of pure alcohol), million dekaliters	32.0	105	108

In comparison with the first quarter of 1989, production of meat has decreased at enterprises in all union republics except the Uzbek SSR, Moldavian SSR, and Estonian SSR; production of wholemilk products has decreased except in the Azerbaijan SSR, Georgian SSR, and Latvian SSR; production of butter has decreased except in the Armenian SSR, Georgian SSR, Azerbaijan SSR, Kirghiz SSR, Kazakh SSR, Uzbek SSR, and Turkmen SSR; production of confectionery products has decreased except in the Belorussian SSR, Georgian SSR, Azerbaijan SSR, Moldavian SSR, Latvian SSR, Tajik SSR, Armenian SSR, and Estonian SSR; production of margarine products has decreased except in the Kazakh SSR, Azerbaijan SSR, and Tajik SSR; and production of vegetable oil has decreased except in the RSFSR, Uzbek SSR, Azerbaijan SSR, Moldavian SSR, Tajik SSR, Armenian SSR, and Turkmen SSR.

Certain union republics' nonfulfillment of their obligations with regard to supplies to all-union stocks is putting the population's supply of livestock products under considerable strain. For example, in the first quarter Moscow's supply of meat products was 11,000 tonnes below plan (the plan was fulfilled 96 percent), Leningrad was 15,000 tonnes below plan (82 percent), Moscow Oblast was 3,000 tonnes short (80 percent), the Azerbaijan SSR was 11,000 tonnes short (47 percent), the Armenian SSR was 6,000 tonnes below plan (60 percent), and the Georgian SSR's supply was 5,000 tonnes below plan (74 percent). In all the supply of meat products to the all-union stock was 34,000 tonnes below the plan (93 percent fulfillment), with the Ukrainian SSR falling short by 26,000 tonnes (87 percent), the Lithuanian SSR by 3,000 tonnes (93 percent), the Latvian SSR by 4,000 tonnes (69 percent), and the Belorussian SSR by 2,000 tonnes (97 percent); The Latvian and Estonian SSR's did not fulfill their commitments for dairy produce supplies, sending 17,000 tonnes (76 percent) and 26,000 tonnes (68 percent) below the plan respectively.

Production of **light industry goods** amounted to R25.5 billion. Production rose by R0.5 billion or 1.7 percent, which is considerably lower than envisaged by the annual plan estimates.

Contract commitments for the supply of output were not met by 311 light industry enterprises (one enterprise in five), which failed to supply goods and output worth R496 million (in retail prices). The level of fulfillment of contract commitments at enterprises in the Georgian, Azerbaijan, and Armenian SSR's was below the level for the country as a whole.

The output of light industry products is characterized by the following figures:

	Production in first quarter of 1990	Percentage plan fulfillment	First quarter of 1990 as percentage of first quarter of 1989
Textiles, total, million square meters	3363	99.6	99
of which:			

cotton	2073	99.1	99
silk	548	99.9	98
woollen	187	98	99
Knitwear, million items	494	99.4	101
of which, children's	282	100.8	101
Hosiery, million pairs	561	99.8	105
of which, children's	203	100.4	104
Products of the sewn goods industry (normative cost of manufacture), million rubles	740	104	103
Footwear, million pairs	212	99.3	99.6
of which children's	97.7	100	99.2

The production of **nonfood consumer goods** (excluding light industry goods) increased by R4.2 billion or 13 percent and totaled R37.7 billion. In the conditions of the conversion that is being carried out, the production of consumer goods at defense sector enterprises rose more quickly than in industry as a whole. The production of goods at those enterprises increased by 20 percent. Production of the main types of nonfood goods is characterized by the following figures:

	Production in first quarter of 1990	Percentage plan fulfillment	First quarter of 1990 as percentage of first quarter of 1989
Televisions, millions	2.5	102	103
of which, color sets	1.7	102	111
Refrigerators and freezers, millions	1.7	98	100.4
Radio receivers, millions	2.3	102	112
of which:			
radio-tape players and music centers	0.3	100.4	131
Tape recorders, millions	1.5	104	111
Video recorders, thousands	61.7	127	234
Sewing machines, thousands	456	100.9	114
of which, "zigzag" machines	259	110	100.5
Washing machines, millions	1.9	102	114
Vacuum cleaners, millions	1.3	103	105
Furniture, billion rubles	2.6	102	108
Motorcycles, thousands	262	99.6	103
Bicycles (excluding children's bicycles), millions	1.5	102	105
Cars, thousands	321	100.8	106
China and earthenware, million rubles	287	102	102
Wallpaper, million standard lengths	148	101	101
Bleached paper products, million rubles	244	105	111
Cells and batteries for household electrical items, millions	292	109	119
Summerhouses, including sets of parts, frames and domestic units [khozyaystvennyy blok] (in respect of delivery to trading organizations), thousands	32.2	107	115
Synthetic detergents in small packages, thousand tonnes	300	98	105
Household soap, thousand tonnes	198	104	110
Toilet soap, thousand tonnes	84.8	103	108

Production of individual goods in daily demand is characterized by the following figures:

	Production in first quarter of 1990	Percentage plan fulfillment	First quarter of 1990 as percentage of first quarter of 1989
Wooden pencils, millions	261	104	85
Electric irons, thousands	4235	104	111
Electric kettles, thousands	1128	100.4	104
Exercise books, millions	1218	99.7	102
Safety razor blades, millions	422	97	96
Sewing machine needles, millions	31.9	100.3	103
Compact cassettes with 31mm width magnetic tape	14.9	102	123
Matches (USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry), million standard boxes	5.4	101	103
Cigarettes, billions	86.2	97	91
Creams, million containers	57.1	106	107
Shaving cream, million containers	5.4	120	108
Toothpaste, million tubes	88.3	106	98
Men's socks, million pairs	192	99	104
Children's hosiery, million pairs	69.5	98	105
Women's hosiery, million pairs	88.5	97	133
Zip fasteners, million linear meters	34.6	107	106

Retail commodity turnover and paid services. The amount of goods supplied to trade from current production was R5.9 billion higher than in the first quarter of last year

while the amount of imported goods was R3.2 billion (30 percent) higher. As a result of the increase in industrial production and imports and the expansion of cooperative and individual labor activity, the volume of retail commodity turnover rose by R13.1 billion or 13.9 percent in real prices. The retail commodity turnover plan was fulfilled by 104.3 percent. This year the growth in commodity turnover was achieved to a greater extent than last by actual commodity supply: Whereas in the first quarter of last year more than 60 percent of the increase was due to an increase in average purchase and sale prices of alcoholic drinks, in the first quarter of 1990 the increase in commodity turnover due to those factors was just over one-third.

The supply of food to the trade system rose by just one percent compared with the first quarter of last year, which is considerably below the plan target.

The sale of meat products, wholemilk produce, vegetables, confectionery products, potatoes, nonalcoholic drinks, and vegetable oil increased by one to three perent, and the production of tea increased 16 percent. The sale of cheese, eggs, margarine, and mineral water fell by two to four percent and fruit and citrus fruit by 18 percent. The volume of butter, sugar, fish products, bakery products, and vegetable and fruit juices sold to the population was virtually the same as in the corresponding period last year.

The pressure on the food market has not eased. The sale of meat and poultry to the population from state resources fell in approximately 40 regions of the country (oblasts, krays, autonomous soviet socialist republics) while the sale of butter fell in 70 regions. Egg supplies to the population were disrupted in a number of parts of the country despite considerable egg stocks.

The problem of the population's vegetable supply remains acute, owing primarily to the considerable reduction of purchases in the first quarter.

The inconsistent supply of food to the population produced a further rise in kolkhoz market prices, which were 12 percent higher than in the corresponding period last year. Within this figure kolkhoz market meat prices rose by 16 percent, vegetable prices rose 13 percent (with rises for fresh tomatoes and cucumbers of 19 percent and 18 percent respectively), and fruit prices rose 20 percent.

The sale of toilet soap and synthetic detergents rose 50 percent in the quarter just ended compared with the first quarter of last year; sales of household soap and gasoline rose by 20 percent; sales of clothing and underwear, knitwear, hosiery, leather footwear, sports goods, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, cameras, radio receivers, and tape recorders rose by 10-16 percent; and sales of textiles, glass tableware and china crockery, timber, slate, refrigerators and freezers, timepieces. and cars (from current production) rose by two to five percent. Supplies of nonfood goods to the trade system rose by 13 percent compared with the first quarter of 1989.

The shortage of sewn goods, knitted underwear, hosiery, children's and women's hosiery, footwear, cotton underwear, and men's socks persists. Many types of fabric, particularly woolens and bed linen, are no longer freely available. The population's supply of domestic electrical goods, electronic television and radio equipment, photographic and movie equipment, timepieces, means of transport, furniture, crockery, and other goods remains unsatisfactory. There were disruptions to trade in many types of timber and construction materials.

A trend toward the normalization of the trade in soap and detergents was noted. According to research findings, however, they are still sold by the coupon system in about 100 cities.

Prices for certain consumer goods rose. The **retail price index,** which is calculated on the basis of recording prices for representative goods and takes into account not only price-forming factors but also the effect of the change in the correlation of volumes of output sales in the state trade system, cooperative stores, and the kolkhoz market and the output of cooperatives and individual labor activity, rose by 2.6 percent. Prices for meat rose by one percent; vegetables two percent; preserves, honey, and potatoes four percent; fruit 15 percent; fabrics, clothing, leather footwear, knitwear, perfume and haberdashery goods, glass tableware, and certain cultural-consumer and household items three to four percent; hosiery, clocks, and watches seven percent; and jewelry approximately 50 percent. Prices for butter and vegetable oil, milk and dairy products, eggs, and a number of cultural-consumer and household items remained unchanged or fell slightly. In a number of cities state retail prices for potatoes and fruit and vegetable produce exceeded last year's high (to a considerable extent because of the introduction of higher contract prices).

Paid services in January-March amounted to R15.7 billion, or R1.1 billion more than the corresponding period of 1989. However, the growth rate achieved in services (7.5 percent) was considerably lower than the annual plan target (13.6 percent).

Specialist consumer service enterprises performed services worth R3.0 billion, which is 4.3 percent above the plan adopted by enterprises. The Azerbaijan and Tajik SSR's did not meet the plan target.

Passenger services provided by **general purpose transport** (rail, air, and sea) amounted to R1.9 billion, or 13.7 percent more than January-March 1989, and fulfilled the plan for the period in question by 106.4 percent.

In the first quarter 18.9 percent of flights, 7.5 percent of bus services, and 13.8 percent of train services were

either cancelled or arrived late (excluding urban transport services that were cancelled or diverted).

In comparison with January-March last year the number of people killed in accidents involving motor vehicles on highways and streets was 10.9 percent higher, totalling 9,200, with the number of people injured (50,300) up by 8.2 percent. The number of people killed by drunk drivers was 13.7 percent of all road accident victims, those injured represented 12.6 percent.

Communications enterprises provided the population with services worth R1.1 billion, or nine percent more than in January-March last year. The plan was fulfilled by 105 percent.

Housing and Sociocultural Construction

Some 250,000 apartments have been constructed using all sources of financing. Some 16 million square meters of housing have been commissioned, which represents a decrease of 1.6 million square meters, or nine percent, on the corresponding period last year. In the first quarter of this year 11 percent of the annual target for apartment blocks were commissioned. The lowest level of annual plan fulfillment was in the Armenian and Estonian SSR's.

The following were commissioned: general education schools providing 60,100 places, vocational technical educational establishments with 2,700 places, preschool establishments with 38,600 places, hospitals with 4,000 beds, polyclinics with a capacity for 15,900 visits per shift, clubs and culture centers with 13,800 places, and residential homes for the elderly and disabled with 700 places. Compared with the corresponding period last year the number of schools, vocational and technical schools, preschool establishments, and polyclinics commissioned increased by 55, 25, 19, and 37 percent respectively. Hospital construction decined by 19 percent, and construction of clubs, culture centers, and residential homes for the elderly and disabled declined by one-fourth. The level of annual plan fulfillment for the commissioning of sociocultural facilities was 2.9-7.8 percent. The greatest lag behind the annual plan for the commissioning of these facilities was to be found in the Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Armenian SSR's.

State of the Environment

There is still a complex environmental situation owing to atmospheric pollution and pollution of water resources in many cities and regions of the country. In particular, atmospheric pollution from individual harmful substances was ten times the permissible norms or more in Chimkent, Arkhangelsk, Amursk, Bratsk, Selenginsk, Novodvinsk, Volgograd, Krasnoperekopsk, Severodonetsk, Lisichansk, Kemerovo, Magnitogorsk, Omsk, Tula, Belgorod, Magadan, Rustavi, and Bezmein; this was the fault of enterprises under the USSR Ministry of Metallurgy, USSR Ministry of the Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry, Ministry of the Timber Industry, and other ministries.

A high level of atmospheric pollution was still recorded in the zone around the Astrakhan Gas Processing Plant, which has provoked mass complaints from the population.

One-shot (accidental) pollution occurred in some areas, which had an adverse effect on the environment. Thus, owing to a leakage of toxic substances into the atmosphere at an experimental mechanical plant in Tolyatti toxic pollutants were found to considerably exceed the permissible norms in a residential area. Untreated effluent was discharged into the Karadarya river as a result of a ruptured effluent tank at the Kattakurgan (Samarkand Oblast) butter and fats combine. Sanitation facilities were under strain at the end of March in Ufa as a result of a leak of untreated effluent from the "Agrokhim" organization's "Khimprom" association and its discharge into the rivers Shugurovka and Ufa with water from melting snow.

Certain production units were shut down by nature conservation bodies because of their adverse effect on the environment. In particular the authorities shut down the Crimean "Titan" Production Association's dye pigment workshop and the Shebekino Chemical Plant (Belgorod Oblast) fatty alcohol workshop.

Crime

In the first quarter of the year 595,000 crimes, or 17 percent more than for the same period last year, were recorded in the country; this is, however, lower than for the same period the previous year. One in six were serious crimes.

The crime rate rose virtually everywhere, but particularly in the Latvian SSR—by 27 percent; the Ukrainian SSR—22 percent; the Estonian SSR—21 percent; the Kazakh SSR—19 percent; and the Lithuanian and Georgian SSR's—18 percent.

Thefts and robberies involving violence increased by 21 and 33 percent respectively, totaling 32,000 and 5,000, respectively. Thefts of citizens' personal property increased by 19 percent, including apartment burglaries by 24 percent. Some 35 percent more crimes involving thefts of state or public property were recorded than in the corresponding period last year. Some 6,000 premeditated murders and attempted murders and more than 15,000 premeditated aggravated assaults were committed, which represents increases compared with the first three months of last year of 23 and 16 percent, respectively; the number of rapes and attempted rapes rose by 16 percent and totaled 5,600.

Approximately 48,000 crimes (an increase of 12 percent) were committed by or with the involvement of minors; 76,000 by previous offenders (seven percent); and approximately 100,000 by people in a state of drunkenness (15 percent).

Some 57,000 group crimes were recorded, which represents an increase of 14 percent on the same period last year.

Some 399 cases of theft of firearms and munitions were recorded, which is double the figure for the first quarter of last year.

Industry

Compared with the first quarter last year, the total volume of industrial production fell 1.2 percent. Contract commitments for output deliveries were 98.7-percent fulfilled; their fulfillment was not ensured by 13 percent of enterprises, which failed to supply consumers with output worth R2.5 billion (the shortfall totaled R1.1 billion in the first quarter of last year).

Industrial production dropped in comparison with the corresponding period in 1989 in the Azerbaijan SSR—by 25 percent; in the Armenian SSR—by 11.7 percent; in the Georgian SSR—by 9.5 percent; and the Tajik SSR—by 3.6 percent. The level of industrial production was also lower than in the January-March period last year in the Estonian SSR, the Latvian SSR, and the RSFSR. During this period the Belorussian and Uzbek SSR's (3.4 percent) and the Turkmen SSR (3.5 percent) achieved the highest growth rates for industrial output.

The process of structural restructuring of industry, prompted primarily by the social reorientation of the economy, continued. Consumer goods production (group "B") increased by 4.7 percent in comparison with the corresponding period last year, while production of the means of production (group "A") fell by 3.2 percent in the same period.

Output per worker increased by 0.9 percent. The highest increase was achieved by industry in the Belorussian SSR (4.6 percent) and the Kirghiz SSR (3.8 percent).

The utilization of capacities being commissioned is still unsatisfactory; two-thirds of new projects fail to assimilate rated capacities on time. Thus, capacities at projects monitored here were utilized as follows in the first quarter: facilities for producing high-quality cast ingots from continual casting machines introduced in 1989—one-third; facilities producing panels for large-panel housing construction—two-fifths; facilities for producing cement board—60 percent. Capacities for producing made-up medicines at Gorkiy's chemical pharmaceutical plant and panels at the Moldavian SSR's Beltsy large-panel housing construction plant have stood virtually idle for almost a year. Total losses of output owing to failure to meet schedules for the assimilation of rated capacities totaled more than R170 million in the first quarter of the year.

The work of economic complexes is characterized by the following figures in percentages: [Columns in the following table represent: Column A—"Fulfillment of contract commitments for output deliveries"; Column B—"Output not supplied to consumers, million rubles"; Column C—"Proportion of enterprises failing to meet contract commitments"; Column D—"Fulfillment of profits plan"; Column E—"Actual output volume (work, services) growth rate":

	A	B	C	D	E
Fuel and energy complex	98.9	148	25	112	-0.8
Machine building complex	98.7	308	26	109	1.6
Metallurgical complex	98.7	241	30	95	-2.5
Chemical and timber complex	97.9	592	36	110	-0.6
Agro-industrial complex	99.4	202	6	111	0.0
Union republic ministries of light industry	98.0	496	19	107	-0.6

Fuel and energy complex

[Columns in the following table represent: Column A—"Actual production in first quarter of 1990"; Column B—"Percentage plan fulfillment"; Column C—"First quarter of 1990 as percentage of first quarter of 1989"]

	A	B	C
Electricity, billion kilowatt-hours	474	[no figure published]	101
Petroleum (including gas condensate), million tonnes	145	99.4	96
Gas, billion cubic meters	211	101	103
Coal, million tonnes	187	103	94

The coal and gas extraction targets for the first quarter were overfulfilled. Some 2.4 billion cubic meters of gas and 5.7 million tonnes of coal, including 1.6 million tonnes of coking coal, were extracted above the plan.

A lag was permitted in the petroleum extraction industry. The plan for petroleum extraction, including gas condensate, was underfulfilled by 859,000 tonnes, or 0.6 percent.

Savings of fuel and energy resources in the economy (by reducing proportional expenditure in comparison with the norms for the first quarter of 1989) remained at the level of the corresponding period last year and totaled 7 million tonnes of standard fuel. Enterprises and organizations are still overspending on fuel and energy. Owing to the exceeding of current norms, roughly an additional 2 million tonnes of standard fuel have been expended on output production during this period.

Machine-Building Complex

[Columns in the following table represent: Column A—"Actual production in first quarter of 1990; Column B—"Percentage plan fulfillment"; Column C—"First quarter of 1990 as percentage of first quarter of 1989"]

	A	B	C
Special, specialized, and standard-unit metal-cutting machine tools—thousands	12.3	107	95
Metal-cutting machine tools with digital program control—thousands	6.1	103	101
Forging and pressing machines with digital program control—units	641	108	112
Instruments, automation means, and spare parts—million rubles	1405	104	106
Medical equipment and spare parts—million rubles	347	112	121
Computer equipment and spare parts—million rubles	2055	106	115
Rolling equipment (including continual ingot casting machines)—million rubles	87.8	100.5	115
Oil apparatus—million rubles	65.1	102	110
Chemical equipment and spare parts—million rubles	273	102	103
Tractors—thousands	137	99.1	95
Agricultural machines—million rubles	921	100.9	94
Machines and equipment for livestock raising and feed production—million rubles	667	100.5	94
Excavators—thousands	9.9	103	103
Lead car batteries and storage batteries—thousands	2348	101	100.5

The proportion of new and modernized machines, equipment, and goods in total production was 9.1 percent, compared to 9.9 percent in the first quarter of 1989. The USSR Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building had the lowest level of renewal—6.9 percent.

Deliveries began of some of new types of machinery, including automatic electronic flat knitting machines, general-purpose looms, automatic sewing and ironing presses, and electric cookers for public catering enterprises. Compared to the corresponding period last year, there was an increase deliveries of domestic "Overlok" sewing machines and automatic industrial sewing machines with microprocessor control.

Production and delivery to various economic sectors of individual progressive kinds of output increased within the machine-building complex, namely computers—by 15 percent; forging and pressing machines with digital program control—by 12 percent; and processing centers—by six percent.

Compared to the corresponding period last year, production of industrial equipment for light industry, processing sectors in the agro-industrial complex, trade, and public catering rose by 14 percent. Production of medical equipment and spare parts rose by 21 percent and production of disposable medical syringes trebled. However, the scale of production of all these goods is still insufficient to meet requirements.

Production of individual types of output failed to attain the level of the first quarter of last year. Production of blast furnace and steel smelting equipment dropped by six percent; special, specialized, and standard-unit machine tools and tractors by five percent; and petroleum industry equipment by nine percent.

Production of a number of types of output was lower than enterprise plans. More than one-fourth of enterprises in the complex failed to fulfill their commitments for output deliveries.

Metallurgical Complex

[Columns in the following table represent: Column A—"Actual production in first quarter of 1990"; Column B—"Percentage plan fulfillment"; Column C—"First quarter of 1990 as percentage of first quarter of 1989"]

	A	B	C
Steel, million tonnes	39.9	99.6	98
Rolled ferrous metals (finished), million tonnes	28.8	101	98
Steel pipes, million tonnes	4.9	100.8	94
Iron ore, million tonnes	58.9	101	98

Metallurgical complex enterprises have fulfilled the state order for basic types of ferrous and nonferrous metallurgical output, with the exception of copper and zinc.

However, a number of major enterprises in the complex have not coped with fulfillment of the state order for production of rolled metal.

Nonferrous metallurgy reduced production of primary aluminum, purified copper, magnesium and magnesium alloys, lead, and zinc.

The economy's demand for metal output of a prescribed grade, above all such progressive forms as rolled metal made from low-alloy steel, highly durable petroleum-grade pipes, metal cord, and a number of types of output whose use offers consumers considerable savings on metal, is still not being satisfied.

Chemical and Timber Complex

[Columns in the following table represent: Column A—"Actual production in first quarter of 1990"; Column B—"Percentage plan fulfillment"; first quarter of 1990 as percentage of first quarter of 1989"]

	A	B	C
Mineral fertilizers (in 100-percent nutrient substance equivalent)—million tonnes	8.5	99.2	93
Sulfuric acid—million tonnes	7.3	97	98

Caustic soda—thousand tonnes	766	91	90
Chemical fibers and yarns—thousand tonnes	399	100.3	100.6
Synthetic resins and plastics—thousand tonnes	1477	96	97
Pipes and pipeline parts made from thermoplasts—thousand tonnes	50.8	104	99.8
Truck tires—millions	6.9	98	97
Car tires—millions	6.5	104	105
Medication—million rubles	1002	102	107
Paper—thousand tonnes	1576	101	98
of which, newsprint—billion square meters	9.4	103	99.5
Cardboard—thousand tonnes	1097	101	98

There are still the negative tendencies which took shape at the end of last year in the work of the chemical and timber complex. Increasing lack of coordination between the raw material base and processing production units, the underutilization of existing capacities, and the closure of a number of production units for environmental reasons has exacerbated the shortage of modern chemical semimanufactures and goods and is impacting adversely on intersectoral ties. One in three enterprises owed output to consumers (the figure was 27 percent for the corresponding period last year). During the accounting period production of caustic soda, synthetic rubber, ammonia, and industrial timber only totaled 90-92 percent of the corresponding level last year.

"Agrokhim" Association enterprises worked unsatisfactorily in sulfuric acid production owing to the underdelivery of sulfur from the "Gazprom" concern.

The lag in the work of soda production units became chronic. The fall in soda ash production was brought about to a certain extent by the extremely unsatisfactory state of technological equipment at a number of enterprises in the sector (the Lisichansk Soda Plant, the "Khimprom" Slavic [slavyanskiy] Production Association, and others).

The closure of the "Nairit" Science and Production Association, along with the decrease in caustic soda production at Sumgait's "Orgsintez" and "Khimprom" Production Associations, brought about a sharp decrease in production of the aforementioned output within the sector as a whole.

Despite a seven-percent overall increase in medicine production, many enterprises are experiencing difficulties with the manufacture of ready-made medicines because of shortages of raw material components. Supplies of many types of cardiovascular preparations, antipyretics, and sedatives are now very short.

The polymer chemicals industry is still not fulfilling the production program. Targets have not been met and production of heavy-duty plastics for construction (PVC, polyethylene, and polypropylene) has fallen in comparison with the corresponding period last year.

Enterprises in the USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry have reduced production of basic timber output. In the first quarter of this year production of industrial timber dropped by eight percent at ministry enterprises; commercial pulp—by seven percent; lumber—by five percent; particle board and cardboard—by three percent; and paper—by two percent.

Construction Complex Industry

[Columns in the following table represent: Column A—"Actual production in first quarter of 1990"; Column B—"Percentage plan fulfillment"; Column C—"First quarter of 1990 as percentage of first quarter of 1989"]

	A	B	C
Cement—million tonnes	34.3	99.6	98
Asbestos cement sheets (slate)—billion standard tiles	2.3	100.7	102
Asbestos cement pipes and sleeves—thousands of kilometers of standard pipe	20.7	100.6	97
Soft roofing materials and insulation—million square meters	482	100.2	96
Three-ply shatterproof glass (triplex)—thousand square meters	719	104	103

Construction industry enterprises' production of basic output fell. In the first quarter of this year, building brick production totaled 98 percent of the level of the first quarter last year, while production of aggregate reinforced concrete and structures for large-panel housing construction totaled 96 percent. There was increased strain in provision of cement for the construction complex in the Kazakh and Georgian SSR's, building brick for the Ukrainian and Azerbaijan SSR's, asbestos cement pipes for the Turkmen SSR, and soft roofing materials for the Uzbek SSR.

Industrial enterprises are failing to conclude economic contracts in good time for the delivery of both production-technical and consumer output.

By 12 March 1990 enterprises under 19 ministries, intersectoral state associations, concerns, and associations producing primarily production-technical output had concluded contracts to deliver output worth R9 billion this year, or three percent less than the volume of output to be delivered according to enterprise's plan estimates for the year.

When forming their production program for the first quarter many enterprises set production plans that did not effectively correspond with the proportion of the annual amount of work time allocation and which were in a number of cases lower than the level of the corresponding period last year. Because of this, even when the

enterprisesm fulfilled their plans, actual production of certain types of output was lower than in the period January-March last year.

Agro-industrial Complex

In the first quarter of the year there was no improvement in agricultural output. Moreover, compared with the same period last year, the volume of meat, milk, and egg production fell at agricultural enterprises in many republics and there were drastic reductions in purchases of cold-frame and greenhouse and early vegetables in open ground, which had an adverse effect on the work of food industry enterprises and the population's food supply.

Output of livestock products and livestock and poultry productivity at kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and interfarm enterprises in the period January-March this year is characterized by the following figures: [Columns in the following table represent: Column A—"1989"; Column B—"1990; Column C—"First quarter of 1990 as a percentage of first quarter of 1989"]

	A	B	C
Livestock and poultry, million tonnes:			
live weight	5.7	5.5	97
Milk, million tonnes	17.6	8.2	103
Average milk yield per cow—kilograms	610	634	104
Eggs, billions	15.8	15.2	96
Average egg yield per laying hen	58	57	98

Livestock units in all the union republics apart from the Uzbek, Moldavian, and Estonian SSR's reduced their sales of livestock and poultry for slaughter; milk production dropped at livestock units in seven union republics, including the Georgian SSR—by 14 percent; the Azerbaijan SSR—by 16 percent; and the Armenian SSR—by 14 percent. Milk yields dropped in most republics. Egg production fell in 11 republics, including the Azerbaijan SSR—by 16 percent; the Georgian SSR—by 10 percent; the Armenian SSR—by 15 percent; and the Latvian SSR—by five percent.

The reduction in the output of livestock products in many regions of the country was brought about primarily by a shortage of feed and various economic omissions during the preparation of farms for overwintering.

This year the number of livestock at kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and interfarm enterprises has changed in the following way (million head, as of 1 April). [Columns in the following table represent: Column A—"1989"; Column B—"1990"; Column C—"First quarter of 1990 as percentage of first quarter of 1989"]

	A	B	C
Livestock	95.0	93.3	98
including cows	28.4	28.1	99.1
Hogs	58.4	57.9	99.2
Sheep and goats	132.8	126.8	95

Livestock units in the Armenian, Tajik, Georgian, Azerbaijan, Turkmen, and Kazakh SSR's permitted a considerable reduction in the number of livestock in comparison with 1 April 1989; while livestock farms in the Estonian, Armenian, Azerbaijan, Georgian, and Tajik SSR's permitted a considerable reduction in the number of cows; and livestock farms permitted a considerable reduction in the number of hogs in the Georgian, Latvian, Estonian, and Armenian SSR's. The number of sheep and goats decreased in all the union republics.

Purchases of livestock products on all categories of farms were as follows:

	January-March		
	1989	1990	1990 as a percentage of 1989
Livestock and poultry, million tonnes:			
live weight	5.8	5.5	96
carcass weight	3.8	3.6	96
Milk, million tonnes	15.3	15.8	103
Eggs, billions	14.6	13.8	94

Livestock and poultry purchases were reduced by 11 republics, six republics reduced milk purchases, and 11 republics reduced egg purchases.

The largest reductions in livestock and poultry purchases occurred in the Georgian SSR—29 percent, the Azerbaijan SSR—28 percent, the Tajik SSR—13 percent, and the Armenian SSR—14 percent. The largest reductions in milk purchases were in the Georgian SSR—23 percent; the Azerbaijan SSR—19 percent; and the Armenian SSR—17 percent. Reductions in egg purchases occurred in all union republics except the Uzbek, Moldavian, Kirghiz, and Tajik SSR's.

During the quarter 80,500 tonnes of hothouse-grown and early vegetables grown in the open ground were purchased—which is 14,100 tonnes, or 15 percent, less than was purchased in the same period of 1989.

Reductions in early vegetable purchases were recorded in all republics except the Belorussian, Georgian, and Armenian SSR's. A sharp reduction in purchases occurred in the Azerbaijan SSR—by 3.6 times, the Tajik SSR—by 2.4 times, the Uzbek SSR—by 1.8 times, and the Turkmen SSR—by 1.6 times.

The process of creating independent peasant farms is expanding in the country. More than 20,000 of them had been formed by the start of April.

Contract commitments for the delivery of most types of agricultural machinery needed by farms to carry out spring sowing work have been fulfilled. At the same time, 3,600 fewer tractor cultivators and 3,900 fewer sowing machines were delivered than in the corresponding period last year. The delivery volume of machines for applying mineral fertilizers to the soil was 2,500 units lower than in the same period last year; and 2,400 fewer disc harrows were delivered—the contract commitments for their delivery were not fulfilled.

Deliveries of mineral fertilizers amounted to 6.3 million tonnes, and deliveries of liming materials amounted to 9.5 million tonnes. Compared with the same period last year, deliveries of mineral fertilizers fell by 775,000 tonnes and deliveries of liming materials by 1.1 million tonnes.

More than R10 billion in capital investment—which virtually corresponds to last year's figure—from all sources of financing was assimilated in the agro-industrial complex, including sectors supplying agriculture with the means of production.

Capital Construction

Fixed capital worth R16.9 billion, or 0.9 percent less than in the same period last year, was commissioned out of state centralized capital investment and enterprise and organization funds.

In the first quarter state enterprises and organizations used R14.6 billion in capital investment financed out of the state budget, or 17 percent of the quota set for the year, and R18.1 billion out of their own funds, or 17 percent of their plan total.

R7.7 billion, or 0.2 percent more than in the same period last year, went to the retooling and modernization of existing enterprises. Some 85 percent of total capital investment for these purposes was made up of the enterprises' and organizations' own funds.

Of the 843 state order projects for 1990, only two were commissioned in the first quarter, and, moreover, only 22 of the 334 carried over from last year were commissioned.

The number of projects included in the state order for 1990 (taking account of those carried over from last year) was 220 percent greater than the number commissioned in 1989. And, as in previous years, it is planned to commission most production capacity at the year's end. It is planned to commission 91 percent of the 1990 state order projects in the fourth quarter.

The annual quota of capital investment allocated for the construction of production capacity on the state order list was utilized 11 percent in the first quarter, with the utilization figure being 16 percent in the fuel and energy complex, 13 percent in the metallurgical and agro-industrial complexes, 8 percent in the chemical and timber complex, and 6 percent in the machine building complex. Capital investment for nature conservancy projects and for scientific research, planning, and design organizations' intersectoral scientific and technical complexes and experimental bases was assimilated by 14 and 9 percent, respectively. The provision of manpower for work on state order projects did not exceed 79-84 percent.

The work to conclude contracts was undermined. According to figures from the USSR Gosstroy [State Committee for Construction] and the USSR Bank for Industrial Construction, as of 9 April 1990 contracting organizations had failed to conclude contracts on 194 of the 843 state order projects. Contracts had not been concluded at approximately 40 percent of projects because of a lack of the necessary equipment.

Transport

Freight shipments by transport in general use are characterized by the following figures: [The columns in the following table represent: Column A: "First quarter of 1990, million tonnes"; Column B: "First quarter of 1990 as percentage of first quarter of 1989"]

	A	B
Transport—total	2898	95.2
of which:		
railroad transport	969	96.9
pipeline transport	313	99.5
maritime transport	56	93.3
internal water transport	26	97.3
motor transport	1533	93.4
air transport	0.6	84.6

The freight shipment plan was fullfilled by railroad transport 99.7 percent; motor transport, 99.5 percent; and maritime transport, 101 percent (to areas in the Far North and similar areas, 103 percent, and to foreign countries, 107 percent).

In February and March railroad transport performance improved slightly but the freight shipment shortfall incurred in January has not been entirely eliminated.

Twelve of the 32 railroads underfulfilled the freight shipment plan, including the Azerbaijan Railroad (66.5 per cent), Far East Railroad (93.3 percent), Kuybyshev Railroad (95.5 percent), and Baykal-Amur Railroad (95.6 percent).

The state order for freight shipment to areas in the Far North and similar areas was underfulfilled by the Far Eastern Shipping Line (98.9 percent) and the Maritime Shipping Line (99.4 percent).

Motor transport enterprises in the following republics failed to meet their target for freight shipments: Azerbaijan SSR (86.1 percent), Armenian SSR (93.1 percent),

Estonian SSR (97.6 percent), Latvian SSR (98.0 percent), and the RSFSR Ministry of Motor Transport (98.1 percent).

Railroad transport failed to fulfill the state order for freight shipment by 6.5 million tonnes (or 1.1 percent), which is comprised of timber (by 6.6 percent), chemical and mineral fertilizer (by 6.3 percent), nonferrous ore and sulphur raw material (by 5.0 percent), petroleum and petroleum products (by 2.0 percent), flux (by 1.3 percent), coal and cement (by 0.9 percent), and iron and manganese ore (by 0.4 percent).

At the same time, as of 1 March stocks of coal ready for shipment at loading sites adjoining railroads, but not shipped out, totaled 22.3 million tonnes (or 10.7 railroad workdays); of timber, 8.8 million tonnes (or 18.9 railroad workdays); of iron and manganese ore, 6.2 (or 9.2); of chemical and mineral fertilizer, 3.3 (or 8.5); of petroleum freight, 3.1 (or 2.7); of grain and milling products, 1.5 (or 5.1), and of cement, 1.4 million tonnes (and 4.4 workdays), respectively; and of goods for enterprises and organizations of the USSR Ministry of Trade, 190.8 thousand tonnes and the Tsentrosoyuz [Central Union of Consumer Societies], 78.0 thousand tonnes.

Imported goods at ports of the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet (in depots and on ships) totaled 3.0 million tonnes as of the end of March, of which grain totaled 1,945,200 tonnes; food products, 27,200 tonnes; and refrigerated freight, 34,300 tonnes. The biggest quantity of imported grain freight has accumulated at the following ports: Novorossiysk—391,000 tonnes (the plan for the supply of freightcars for loading in April has been fulfilled by 94 percent); Novotallinskiy 215,000 (and 88 percent); Riga 207,000 (and 72 percent), and Leningrad 167,000 (and 81 percent).

In connection with the above-norm delays of ships with freight on board at ports because of a shortage of freightcars, maritime shipping lines sustained losses totaling around R10 million in foreign currency [invalyutnyy rubl] in January-February. At the same time, fines imposed by seaports on railroads for delays in the supply of freightcars for loading and the removal of freightcars from loading and unloading sites totaled R1.3 million for the same period.

Foreign Economic Activity

In the first quarter of 1990, the number of organizations authorized to enter the foreign market reached 14,000, of which more than 1,000 were joint ventures and 2,400 cooperatives.

The unfavorable situation in the country's national economy is hampering the development of foreign economic activity.

The volume of foreign trade turnover in current prices decreased during January-March in comparison with the corresponding period of last year by 1.6 percent and totaled R32.7 billion. Export deliveries fell to R15.5 billion, or by 3 percent. Imports decreased by 0.3 percent, their volume totaling R17.2 billion.

The deceleration of the pace of export operations with CEMA countries continued (amounting to a reduction of 9.7 percent)—which is a result of the political and economic situation that has taken shape in those countries and also of the reduced prices for individual raw material goods being supplied to those countries. Imports from CEMA member countries decreased by 11 percent.

The substantial increase in the volume of trade operations with capitalist countries (10.5 percent) is a result, in terms of exports, mainly of the rising prices for basic goods exported to those countries; in terms of imports, it is the result of both rising prices and growing physical volumes.

The balance of trade for the first quarter was negative to the tune of R1.7 billion, of which R0.8 billion was accounted for by socialist countries and R0.9 billion by capitalist countries.

The annual plan for exports was fulfilled 21 percent, and exports for freely convertible currency 20 percent, of which machinery and equipment accounted for 14 percent, petroleum 16 percent, gasoline 16 percent, diesel fuel 25 percent, and gas 24 percent.

The annual plan for imports has been fulfilled 24 percent and for [earning] freely convertible currency 32 percent.

The volume of purchases in the world market of food products and raw materials for their production and also durable consumer goods is not diminishing despite the unfavorable price situation. In January-March of the current year imports into the national economy of coffee increased by 17 percent, of meat and meat products by 17 percent, of vegetable oil by 52 percent, of leather footwear by 24 percent, and of medicines by 21 percent; at the same time imports of raw sugar decreased by 32 percent, of tea by 13 percent, of butter by 8 percent, of clothing articles by 28 percent, of knitwear by 21 percent, and of furniture by 32 percent.

More than 1,500 joint ventures in which foreign firms and organizations are participating were registered on USSR territory as of 1 April 1990.

The results of the country's socioeconomic development in the first quarter indicate that it is necessary to consistently implement the set course toward the deep, socially-oriented restructuring of the production structure, effective utilization of all types of resources, and accelerated implementation of the economic reform.

Scientific

'Cosmos-2076' Launched; Functioning Normally

LD2904090890 Moscow TASS in English 0903 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 29 TASS—The Soviet Union launched an artificial satellite, Cosmos-2076, with the help of the Molniya booster rocket on Saturday.

The satellite carries research equipment intended for continued space research.

The satellite was put into orbit with the following parameters:

—initial period of revolution 11 hours 49 minutes,
—maximum distance from the earth's surface (in apogee) 39,342 kilometers,
—minimum distance from the earth surface (in perigee) 613 kilometers,
—inclination of the orbit 62.8 degrees.

Besides research equipment, the satellite also carries a radio system for the precise measurement of elements of the orbit, and a radio telemetric system for beaming back to earth data on the performance of instruments and research equipment.

The on-board equipment is functioning normally.

The Coordination and Computing Centre is processing the incoming information.

'Progress-M3' Disintigrates in Atmosphere

LD2804094590 Moscow TASS in English 0934 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] Flight Control Centre April 28 TASS—The unmanned cargo spacecraft Progress M-3, which was launched on March 1, was destroyed today after completing its mission.

The craft had taken some 2.5 tonnes of freight to the orbiting platform Mir (Peace), where two cosmonauts are currently posted. The spacecraft's propulsion unit after docking was fired to adjust the platform's orbit.

After being jettisoned from Mir by commands from the flight control centre on Friday, Progress M-3 was directed into a descent today. It burnt up after entering the dense layers of the atmosphere over a preset area in the Pacific.

The two cosmonauts, Anatoliy Solovyov and Aleksandr Balandin, meanwhile, carried out several technical experiments in the past few days. In one experiment, equipment installed on the outer wall of the service module Kvant-2 (Quantum-2) was used to study the characteristics of various materials in raw space.

The cosmonauts' work is proceeding as planned.

Both men are in good health and feeling well.

Processing of 'Photon' Space Cargo Begins

LD2904125290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1925 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Summary] Moscow, 28 April (TASS)—A briefing in the USSR Glavkosmos took place today. The journalists present were told that the Soviet and French specialists who carried out space experiments on the "Photon" aircraft, have started processing the cargo brought back to earth.

A landing craft of the "Photon" automatic satellite landed successfully on 27 April at the right spot in the country. It had on board about 500 kg of scientific equipment and materials obtained in the course of the research and experiments carried out in orbit.

The satellite was in orbit for 16 days, during which the technology of growing crystals, semiconductors, and biologically active substances in conditions of weightlessness, as well as that of the electrophoretic purification of "Alfa 2" interferon was undertaken. Experiments for clarifying the reaction of living organisms to weightlessness were carried out on newts and microorganisms.

Automatic French equipment installed on the satellite, in accordance with the commercial agreement with the National Center of Space Research of France, was used for growing albumin crystals, which will be used in the medical industry.

(Francois Gonzalez), head of the French research program, said that similar experiments will form part of the ("Antares") project, under which a French cosmonaut is to go into space in 1992.

Military

Yazov Named Marshal of Soviet Union

LD2804123990 Moscow TASS in English 1231 GMT 28 Apr 90

[By TASS Correspondent Oleg Maskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov, previously an army general, was today promoted to marshal.

In keeping with a decree signed by President Mikhail Gorbachev, he joins six other military commanders of the same rank—Sergey Akhromeyev, Viktor Kulikov, Semen Kurkotkin, Nikolay Ogarkov, Vasiliy Petrov and Sergey Sokolov.

Yazov, 66, was born in the village of Yazovo in the Omsk region of Siberia. He left home as a youth to enroll in the Moscow Infantry School after Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union in 1941. Trained as an all-arms commander, he has now been with the Armed Forces for almost half a century.

Graduating the infantry school as a lieutenant, Yazov went to Leningrad front in 1942 to lead first a platoon and then a company.

After the war he served in a total of 33 garrisons across the country before getting to the very top. He knows the military service in practically every Soviet region and at every level.

Successively, he commanded a regiment outside Leningrad, a division in the Baykal area, a corps in the Odessa Military District, and an army in Transcaucasia. He was later made commander of Soviet forces in Czechoslovakia and of the Far Eastern and then Central Asian Military Districts.

In 1987 Yazov was appointed a deputy defence minister in charge of personnel and in the summer of that year he became defence minister.

The tall, well-built Siberian is known for his practical gumption and rare capacity for work. Arriving at his office at around seven in the morning, he leaves late at night. During the day he manages to accomplish a great deal, from conducting military conferences to meeting with common soldiers.

The minister has a remarkable memory. He does not forget even seemingly insignificant matters. During discussions, he intersperses his speech with quotes, including poetry.

His encyclopaedic knowledge of martial affairs appeals to many: The new marshal has graduated two higher military schools—the Frunze Academy and the General Staff's Academy.

Defense Ministry Endorses Defense Bill

LD2904125790 Moscow TASS in English 1242 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 29 TASS—The collegium of the USSR Defense Ministry endorsed the USSR law on defense and plans to submit it for consideration to the fourth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper today sets out the main provisions of this bill, designed to regulate all aspects of military and defense development in the USSR.

The bill covers all spheres of defense activity for the first time in the history of Soviet legislation. In the section headed "The Armed Forces of the USSR and Other Troops", an attempt is made for the first time to lay down the fundamentals of the legal status of the Armed Forces and to define such notions as the state of war, war time, mobilisation, martial law and civil and territorial defense. Some of these provisions were regulated previously but only by secret decrees of the defense minister or by decrees of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The bill stipulates that the USSR president has the right to declare military actions by the Armed Forces. "The president can take the decision as a reply measure, can issue an order to the USSR Armed Forces to engage in combat operations and to use nuclear weapons, and sanctions the holding of nuclear tests," the document runs.

A provision stipulates that union republics and other autonomous entities, nations and ethnic groups of the USSR should jointly take part in the defense of the country and ensure the fulfilment of all measures for its strengthening, proceeding from federal interests. For the first time the bill determines the defensive nature of the Soviet military doctrine.

It is important, specialists point out, that the bill reflects the international legal obligations of the USSR in the military field. A special section notes that in the organization of the country's defense and during hostilities the USSR will observe the norms of international treaties, that it signed.

The bill also provides for Soviet citizens to seek alternative service and service on a contract basis. There is also a section defining responsibility for the violation of the legislation on defense.

Commission Measures Radiation on Nuclear Subs

LD2704162790 Moscow TASS in English 1604 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 27—An inter-departmental commission has been set up at the request of one of the USSR people's deputies to study the radiation level on secret facilities of Soviet naval fleet.

The commission's experts have inspected its bases and repair dockyards.

"We are satisfied with the results of our inspection," Professor Sivintsev from the Kurchatov Institute of Nuclear Energy told journalists. The radiation level aboard nuclear submarines does not exceed the natural background. This gives us the right to believe that the northern fleet has a good system for radiological safety." [single quotation mark as received]

The commission which included experts from military and environmental protection organisations also inspected a base for nuclear ice breakers of the Murmansk shipping company and special enterprises for dumping radiological waste. The radiation levels were regarded as normal.

Air Force Leaders Address Cadets Rally

PM2504093190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Apr 90 First Edition p 1

[Colonel P. Divak report: "Air Force Students' Meeting"]

[Text] A rally of students representing Air Force military educational establishments was held over two days at the Kachin Higher Military Pilots College to mark the 45th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the Great

Patriotic War. The hero-city of Volgograd hosted the best emissaries of military aviation training establishments, worthy successors to Soviet aviators' traditions. The participants in the meeting visited Mamayev Kurgan and the "Battle of Stalingrad" museum-diorama and laid a wreath at the memorial to the war heroes.

The rally was opened by Lieutenant General of Aviation G. Benov, chief of the Air Force Political Directorate [name and title as published]. Colonel General of Aviation A. Goryainov, deputy commander in chief of the Air Force [title as published] and chief of Air Force Military Educational Institutions, delivered the report. He analyzed students' role in the perestroyka of the study process in military educational establishments and the problems facing them amid the activation of the country's whole social life. Other aspects of the life and activity of military educational establishments were also discussed at the rally, particularly the students' international education, ensuring that there are more young men from all the republics in their ranks, high standards of behavior and mutual relations, and shaping future officers' personalities. The students spoke about life and living conditions in the colleges and raised the problems that worry them. With bated breath the participants in the rally listened to the speech by Colonel General of Aviation G. Dolnikov (retired), veteran of the Great Patriotic War and Hero of the Soviet Union.

The meeting ended with a "roundtable" at which Air Force leaders answered numerous questions. The participants in the rally adopted an appeal to all Air Force students.

Baltic Republics

Landsbergis Remarks on Independence Compromise

Rules Out Repeal

OW2904162490 Tokyo KYODO in English 1602 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] Vilnius, April 29 KYODO—Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis said Sunday his republic will freeze some of the laws and decisions made after its independence declaration and embark on a two-year transition period before independence.

Landsbergis revealed the planned compromise with Moscow in an exclusive interview here with KYODO NEWS SERVICE.

However, he said his republic will not freeze last month's declaration of independence from the Soviet Union.

The Lithuanian compromise came after the Kremlin said it will accept a freeze instead of a renunciation of the republic's declaration of independence on March 11.

Landsbergis welcomed the remarks made by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's spokesman Arkadiy Maslennikov on Saturday [28 April] that Moscow did not insist on Lithuania rescinding its declaration and suggested that a freeze could pave the way for talks.

However, Landsbergis said it is almost impossible to freeze the declaration of independence.

He said his republic will negotiate with Moscow over the concept of a national federation during the transition period of two years at the longest.

He also indicated Lithuania may negotiate with Moscow over a freeze on three laws passed after the declaration of independence, which Moscow wants suspended.

The laws exempt Lithuanians from Soviet conscription, authorize the issue of Lithuania's own identity cards and take over property claimed by the Communist Party.

Urges Talks

LD3004081990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0300 GMT 30 Apr 90

[Text] Rejecting any dialogue whatsoever, Moscow wants to provoke internal conflicts in Lithuania, said Vytautas Landsbergis yesterday evening in an interview for Polish television. The president of the Lithuanian parliament believes that the Kremlin is a puzzle. First, it puts forward the condition that we must revoke our independence declaration, which is impossible to implement, yet now it proposes a freezing on independence. Talks must be held in order to explain this.

Landsbergis Assesses Mitterrand-Kohl Letter

LD2704223390 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Today, in an interview with Lithuanian Television, Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis assessed the letter addressed to him by French President Francois Mitterrand and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

In his estimation, the formula proposed in the letter, [word indistinct] for Lithuania to arrest the implementation of her decisions, to bring about the possibility of starting a dialogue with Moscow, could be analyzed. In Vytautas Landsbergis' words, he does not think this proposal would have an impact on the 11 March act.

On the contrary, the letter presents somewhat of an assurance, that our principal decision would not suffer in the least, in the event Lithuania were to accept the proposed variant.

Vytautas Landsbergis again emphasized the fact that to start a dialogue, goodwill on the part of the USSR is necessary.

At the same time, he voiced the hope that, since advisers and consultants such as Francois Mitterrand and Helmut Kohl, have been found for the case of Lithuania and the USSR, one is permitted to expect a constructive step forward.

Comments on Reply

LD2804222990 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] The Lithuanian president, Vytautas Landsbergis, has said that a reply is being worked out to the French President Francois Mitterrand and the West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Mr. Landsbergis thinks that their appeal is positive enough supporting the efforts of Lithuania to seek a dialogue with Moscow. The suggestion to suspend the reinforcement of the decision on independence of 11 March is constructive and worth careful consideration, said Vytautas Landsbergis. He also added that this letter should not be viewed as a concession to the Soviet ultimatum. The response of Vilnius to Francois Mitterrand and Helmut Kohl is going to include certain suggestions so that their initiative should not end with a single letter.

Prunskiene on Economic Measures, U.S. Trip

LD2704204590 Moscow TASS in English 2028 GMT 27 Apr 90

[By TASS Special Correspondent Boriz Zverev]

[Text] Vilnius April 28 TASS—Leaders of the Lithuanian government continue to assert that they have opportunities to overcome a difficult crisis in which the republic landed after Moscow revised economic relations with Vilnius.

Giving a news conference here Friday evening, Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene said the government takes measures to overcome economic difficulties. These measures including limiting payments of cash to the population for two months, oil extraction from a deposit in the Lithuanian territory where some 400 tonnes of oil can be extracted, and assistance from separate enterprises in other republics.

Giving answers to questions of reporters, Prunskiene has not named any of these enterprises.

She also said that she leaves on Sunday for a tour of Canada and the United States which will last till May 5. During the tour the prime minister intends to meet businessmen and financiers of both countries and American senators.

Prunskiene said that she goes to the United States to attend a youth congress and that her programme does not envisage meetings with prominent American officials.

Asked about the Lithuanian government's attitude to the message of FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl and French President Francois Mitterrand to Vytautas Landsbergis, Prunskiene said: "We understand this to be a proposal to suspend the operation of documents of March 11 (documents proclaiming Lithuania's independence). This should be done temporarily without reneging on these documents and without playing down their importance."

The Lithuanian prime minister does not think that the FRG and France have been hostile with regard to Lithuanian independence. This stand of the two countries reflects their interests, she said.

Summing up the contents of Kohl's and Mitterrand's proposal, Prunskiene said: "This is a compromise which should be viewed as the maximum. This is the limit." At the same time she said that the Lithuanian government sets itself the task of solving problems "without going back on documents of March 11."

Likelihood of 'Freezing' Council Decisions Viewed

PM2904194790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Correspondent Leonid Kapelyushnyy report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Frost on Fiery Decisions"]

[Text] Vilnius—There is a new expression in the Lithuanian leaders' political vocabulary now—the freezing of certain decisions by the republic's parliament.

Just 10 days ago, after delivering a report to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session, Algirdas Brazauskas, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and first secretary of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, came under fierce attack from irate radicals for the fact that, in soberly assessing the situation, he proposed seeking a solution with the help of political decisions. He had "gone red," ["pokrasnel"], he was a turncoat, an appeaser, and he was branded all kinds of things by the true fighters for genuine independence. Nor, it seems, was the deputy prime minister's position shared by Mrs. Prunskiene, with her optimistic faith in manna from heaven in the form of Western oil and so forth. But 10 days in the life of Lithuania today are equal to years under the old calendar. And now a new word is entering the Lithuanian leaders' political vocabulary—the freezing of certain parliamentary decisions.

A proposal is not an action but the frost is undoubtedly already settling on the parliament's fiery decisions. Common sense suggests that further confrontation between the Lithuanian government and the USSR leadership will place a heavy burden on the people's shoulders and reduce the economy to a state of brain death. The optimism of the mass media, which are trying to convince the people that the thorny problems on the road to the bright future are not all that sharp and, most importantly, will not last long, is an optimism founded on faith. But some actual figures would be good...

The Lithuanian exchequer is not the richest in the world today and the collection of donations for the "antiblockade fund" (the republic's inhabitants have contributed about R100,000 to it) will not salvage the situation. Prime Minister Prunskiene's decision to contribute one-half of her salary to the fund is not quite what the people are entitled to expect or receive from their government, for all the nobility of the gesture.

Ljaonas Jankauskas, general director of the "Banga" association, which produces Siljalis television sets, the best in the country, said in a recent interview with an EKHO LITVY correspondent that it has become immeasurably harder to work in conditions of the economic sanctions but that the enterprise is **working continuously**. He explained why: Envisaging such a development of the situation, Banga established firm informal contacts with its suppliers. By the way, the general director is one of the few people to find kind words of support for Algirdas Brazauskas, which at present counts for a lot...

When considering the deployment of political forces in Lithuania, account must henceforth be taken of the Committee of USSR Citizens, which held its inaugural congress 28 April. As Committee Chairman Vladislav Shved told your correspondent, this new organization is no longer going to wait for the center to say how and when it will protect the civil rights of those who oppose Lithuania's withdrawal from the USSR. Instead it intends taking an active stance and defending its interests using all democratic methods. The resolution adopted by the Citizens' Committee Congress expresses lack of confidence in Lithuania's present political leadership and demands its resignation.

Around 540 delegates took part in the congress' work, 200 of whom represented workers' interests. In terms of nationality, there were 300 Russians and 70 Lithuanians, the rest being the so-called Russian-speaking population.

Vladislav Shved stressed, and this seems important to me, too, that the committee today consists primarily of workers and peasants.

USSR Resumes Gas Supplies to Fertilizer Plant

LD2804225590 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] Today Lithuania is going through the ninth day of its economic embargos. Fuel supplies have unexpectedly become larger. Today's communique of the Lithuanian government states that the Soviet Union has started supplying the fertilizer plant in Jonova, which practically stopped operating, with natural gas.

From the beginning of the blockade Lithuania had been receiving 3.5 million cubic meters of natural gas per day, and that was just enough for everyday household needs. Now the fertilizer plant in Jonova is going to get 3 million cubic meters of natural gas each day. This is almost sufficient for the plant to keep operating normally.

Over 1,000 people are going back to work, that is nearly 30 percent of the plant's working staff. The fertilizer plant is starting to operate in the middle of next week.

The government's communique also says that from 1 May, some of the food products are going to be rationed too in order to provide all the people more or less (?with an equal). The communique as well says that direct contacts between Lithuania and Soviet industrial enterprises are now expanding. Agreements useful to both sides are being made. Lithuanian industry (?is) provided with the needed supplies by Soviet partners. This is the beginning of free market (?formation).

Confusion About Supply

AU2904183590 Paris AFP in English 1819 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow, April 29 (AFP)—Confusion reigned Sunday about possible re-establishment of supplies of Soviet natural gas for a Lithuanian factory, following a denial of such a move by Lithuanian authorities who viewed the reported resumption as a "Moscow maneuver".

A Lithuanian government representative contacted by telephone by AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE said Sunday that the announcement by the Soviet Petroleum and Gas Ministry Saturday evening [28 April] of resumed gas supplies for the Ionava nitrogen fertilizer plant in central Lithuania "was only a promise".

No authorized Soviet ministry sources were available Sunday to explain the content and origin of the announcement.

The Lithuanian representative, Vytautas Benedictavicius, said that it was not known just who at the Soviet ministry made the announcement, "which was not followed by any effect, and at 1600 GMT (Sunday), the Azotas factory was still receiving half a million cubic meters of gas a day, as it has since the start of the blockade".

The plant usually receives 3.4 million cubic meters of Soviet natural gas a day, but, like other Lithuanian businesses, the factory has been affected for the last 10 days by a Soviet reduction of energy supplies—a consequence of the Baltic republic's declaration of independence from the Soviet Union.

The majority of the Azotas plant's 3,000 workers have been laid off since Moscow decided to reduce gas supplies to Lithuania by 85 per cent on April 19.

Notification of a partial resumption of deliveries would be an important gesture by Moscow with an eye on a compromise on the Lithuanian issue.

A spokesman for Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, Arkady Maslennikov, said on Saturday that Soviet authorities were demanding a "freeze or moratorium" on Lithuanian independence, and no longer outright cancellation of the declaration.

But nationalists said Sunday evening that Moscow was trying a new maneuver with the gas episode, aiming primarily at "trying to influence the population" affected by the Soviet partial blockade.

Sunday noon, an AFP correspondent watched as a thousand cyclists left the Lithuanian parliament building for a demonstration-jaunt in and around Vilnius. The independence-minded riders, with Lithuanian flags on their handlebars under a sunny sky, wanted to show Moscow that the fuel shortage had not immobilized them.

Moscow Announces Suspension of Coal Supplies

LD2804115590 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow has officially announced the suspension of coal shipments to Lithuania because the republic owes a considerable sum of money to the suppliers of coal. Earlier, an embargo was imposed on oil deliveries. The supplies of natural gas and some other raw materials were reduced.

According to Lithuania's government, gasoline will last until 20th May if stringent economy is practiced. Nevertheless, some plants and factories in Lithuania have already stopped. If this development of events continues, according to economists, 35,000 people will be out of work (?in) Lithuania by 1st May.

Nevertheless, Lithuania's leaders have resorted to countermeasures instead of searching for the ways to settle the constitutional impasse resulting from their unilateral proclamation of independence. Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene has said, for one, that in answer to

Moscow's sanctions the deliveries of meat and meat products to the USSR will be reduced.

Economic Blockade of Lithuania Affects Employment

LD2704234490 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Excerpts] How Long Will Cement Reserves Last? The Port of Klaipeda To Receive Oil. Arms Not Found, Only Cars on Board. These are only a few of [the] headlines one can ready today in Lithuania's papers, which have so far been appearing regularly. Begining with next week their publication is to be significantly restricted. It has been reported today, however, that Lithuania is capable of producing all the paper needed for periodical press. Lithuania's health minister has confirmed the reports on shortages of medicines, including antibiotics and hormone preparations, but said the situation was not critical.

He said direct negotiations started with a number of pharmaceutical firms abroad and in Moscow, Leningrad, and other towns in Russia were promising, too.

A shipment of medicines sent by the Switzerland-Lithuanian Society has reached Lithuania. The Italian Red Cross has also expressed its readiness to send aid to us, the minister said. The representative of the Lithuanian republic in France has announced that a shipment of medicines was ready to be sent to Lithuania from that country, too. The daily TIESA today carried a report about a similar shipment which is being prepared in Austria on the invitiative of the well-known Austrian political figure Karl von Habsburg. The grandson of the last Austro-Hungarian emperor told the paper that the action of assistance was organized by the Austrian branch of the Pan-Europe Movement. The Pan-Europe gift will include food products and other essential child-care goods.

The number of unemployed due to the economic blockade in Lithuania has reached 10,000 (?to date). About half of all the freight railroad traffic from the USSR bound for Lithuania is not reaching its destination. Up to now no official document sanctioning or confirming such a blockade has been received by the Lithuanian government.

Experts Say 35,000 Unemployed

LD2804130490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 28 Apr 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Excerpts] In Vilnius, the Constituent Congress of the Citizens' Committees for the Maintenance of Soviet Power in Lithuania has just assembled.

In general, the situation in the Baltic continues to excite public opinion. For instance, a TASS report from Tallinn says that the signing of the Baltic Treaty by the leaders of the three Baltic republics has become one of the first points recorded in the (?manifesto) [aktiv] of the new Estonian government, which is still in its formative stage. By this token, the leaders of the three governments confirmed a desire to act as a united bloc in the resolution of common problems, with prospects of creating a free Baltic market.

Nonetheless, today the newspaper TRUD writes that, despite the extremely harsh rationing of gasoline in Lithuania, reserves could dry up in the republic by 20 May. A shortage of metal, timber, paper, and other raw materials is already making itself felt. Experts consider that given such a development of events, 35,000 people will find themselves without work by 1 May. [passage omitted]

List of Supplies Blockaded by USSR Publicized

LD2804101790 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] As usual, a meeting of the government commission headed by Algirdas Brazauskas started at 0900 today. It discussed how to distribute those small resources that remain at our disposal.

Here is a report from that meeting by Ceslovas Jursenas:

[Jursenas] At last our officials have succeeded in obtaining from Moscow that famous secret list stating which products should not be supplied to Lithuania. I am going to read this list and I want to state that it has been approved by the USSR Government what not to give to Lithuania. If people in Lithuania do not receive products not included in that list, this means voluntarism by corresponding enterprises in Russia, the Ukraine, or Uzbekistan; or by the USSR railways. Here is the list, which is not brief and is very severe for us.

Of course, it includes oil and gas, but they are not supplied by rail; they used to come by pipelines, and we still receive some of the gas.

Then the list goes on: Oil products, sheet metal, white metal, and steel band; all kinds of pipes, plastics, and apatite concentrate; all kinds of rubber, tires and rubber products; timber products, prefabricated housing, paper, asbestos, steel, and aluminium constructions for buildings; textiles, synthetic yarn, and synthetic and artificial fiber; trucks and cars, and their spare parts; tractors, bulldozers, diesels and diesel generators, and gantry cranes; raw material for sugar, natural coffee, and soluble coffee, and upholstery; vegetable fats, malt, wines, citric aid, fish and fish products, cocoa beans, nuts, tea, margarine products, and lastly, which I do not regret, wine and vodka products.

So now we know what we are not receiving from the Soviet Union, although at the beginning there was talk only about oil and gas.

Commission Examines Fuel, Supply Situation

LD2804151590 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1400 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] April is coming to an end. How are things going to be in Lithuania after 1 May? This was discussed by the government commission this morning. Zenonas Miskinis, general director of the Lithuanian Republic Gas Association, reported that according to information supplied by Soyuzgaz, Lithuania would receive 75 percent of its allocation of liquefied gas in May. The commission requested that the republic's residents conserve gas.

The Panevezys town government has reduced the allocation of gasoline for transporting milk from 90 percent, as fixed by the commission, to 80 percent of the previous allocation. The commission demanded that local governments not change its decisions.

Additional supplies of [figure indistinct] cubic meters of natural gas are needed in Lithuania for the Jonava Azotas Production Association. This amount is almost sufficient for the enterprise's normal work. The Jonava Azotas will resume work on 3-4 May. There were problems after the announcement that housing construction would have priority. The commission explained that construction projects nearing completion would be finished. Building materials are, above all, to be supplied for the construction of dwelling houses and ecological projects.

The order on selling some food products was [word indistinct]. Details will be announced later.

More on Fuel Deliveries

LD2704204890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1940 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow, 27 Apr (TASS)—The situation which has arisen in Lithuania after the cessation of oil deliveries and the limitation of gas supplies has been analyzed by Vladimir Kostyunin, USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply deputy chairman, in an interview broadcast today on Soviet television.

He reported that 30 percent of the former quota of natural gas delivered to the republic has been left to Lithuania. Vladimir Kostyunin explained that such an amount should completely provide for communal services, provided the republican government does not use this gas for industrial needs.

He also pointed out that the republic requires a lot of coal which the USSR purchases from Poland. Large reserves of this coal have been set up in the republic, and Lithuania has so far not paid for them, owing the suppliers about R1 million. In connection with this, the delivery of coal to the republic has been cut off, noted the USSR State Committee for Material and Technological Supply deputy chairman.

At the same time he emphasized that all deliveries of fuel necessary for the normal running of rail transportation and aviation under the Union's jurisdiction are being provided.

The sooner the Lithuanian leadership adopts measures to normalize the situation, the sooner all those enterprises whose fuel supply has been limited today will step up to rated capacity, Vladimir Kostyunin said in conclusion. Several days are sufficient to restore the situation to normal, he emphasized, since the situation has not yet assumed an irreversible aspect, although later this question will be much more difficult to resolve.

Mazeikiai Refinery Director Returns From Moscow

LD2704225490 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Today, director of the Mazeikiai oil refinery, (Bronius Novavaimaras), returned from Moscow where he met the minister, [of Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry] Nikolay Lemayev. (Bronius Novavaimaras) says he is convinced that practically all the staff of the Moscow ministry condemn the severance of oil supplies to Lithuania and assess it as an unlawful step. The lifting of the blockade, however, is not within the ministry's competence.

Lithuanian Printing Supplies Dwindling

LD2904225790 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] Reserves of paper, dyes, photochemical, and other materials essential for the operation of printing shops are coming to an end. The Soviet railways have been blocking even those shipments of materials which have been sent by plants in the Soviet Union favorably disposed toward their Lithuanian customers. This will inevitably affect the scope, circulation, periodicity, and color scheme of all periodical publications in Lithuania. Some publications will have to be suspended entirely.

Blockade of Medical Supplies to Lithuania Denied

PM2704155590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Correspondent Aleksandr Protsenko report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Rumors and Facts"]

[Text] Vilnius—There is growing alarm in the republic at the ending of supplies of various types of raw materials, imported materials, vegetable oil, and so forth.

For several days now, rumors have been rife in Vilnius that an embargo has been placed on supplies of drugs and medicines to Lithuania with the result that people in hospitals are dying. I contacted the general director of the republic's "Farmacja" association and asked for precise information.

"I do not know of any embargo on medicines," V. Sakalauskas said. "Our supplies are quarterly and at present goods destined for us are arriving at the usual rate. Today, 26 April, we received a consignment of drugs from Moscow, tomorrow there will be some from Leningrad..."

It was announced on republic radio that ration cards for certain types of foodstuffs will be introduced in Lithuania 1 May.

The collection of money for the "antiblockade fund" goes on. Some R93,000 have now been received—that is equivalent to just 1.5 days earnings of the 7,500 people who are known for sure to have lost their jobs. At a press conference in the parliament V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, stressed again that the main hope of the republic's leadership is pinned on countries in the West—only they are now capable of persuading the USSR Government to open talks with Lithuania. But no mention was made of any countermoves from the Lithuanian parliament.

Lithuanian Commission Begins Rationing Some Foods

LD2804210390 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] Today the government commission on measures regulating the economic blockade has decided to implement the restricted sale of certain food products. These are to be sold in accordance with sugar rationing coupons already distributed among the population for the months of May and June.

During a two-month period an individual will be allotted: flour—two kilos; barley—two kilos; macaroni—one kilo; salt—one kilo; margarine or lard—250 grams. These norms have been calculated in accordance with last year's average per capita consumption of these products.

Car Plant Cannot Honor Soviet Contracts

LD2904145290 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] At the same time, the economic blockade has started telling not only on the economy and people of Lithuania. There are signs its effects are becoming every more felt in the Soviet Union itself. The motor car compressor plant in Panevezys, Lithuania's fifth largest town, has cabled all its 800 customers in the Soviet Union, informing them it will not be able to honor its contract obligations due to circumstances over which it has no control. The reserves of raw materials still remaining in the plant will allow it to operate for another three weeks. The plant therefore is seeking direct links with customers in the Soviet Union, many of which are interested in maintaining such ties. This makes the situation of the client somewhat easier, partly due to the fact that the Panevezys plant holds the monopoly of motor car compressor production.

Truck Drivers Rally, Support USSR Position

LD2804011290

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1700 GMT on 27 April in its "Vremya" newscast broadcasts a recorded three-minute video report by correspondents A. Shashkov and S. Medvedev in Vilnius on 27 April. The correspondents report that after nine days, the economic sanctions are beginning to bite. The video shows railway yards, empty shelves in food stores, idle cranes on building sites, and long lines at gas stations. At 0800 today, the correspondents continue, truck drivers from a number of the city's transportation enterprises blocked the main roads into the city in a two-hour picket. A leaflet was issued, calling for the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet to fulfill the decisions of the third session of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies or to resign. Medvedev interviews a Russian truck driver, who calls for the government to resign. He says that the action in his enterprise was supported by Russians and Poles, but the Lithuanians went to work. The studio announcer adds that "immediately after this action had taken place, the republican Ministry of Transport gave instructions for the organizers of this demonstration, this two-hour strike, to be dismissed."

Organizers Fired

LD2704173290 Moscow TASS in English 1707 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Vilnius April 27 TASS—Drivers from the Lithuanian capital's transport enterprises, including a taxi pool, staged a two-hour warning strike this morning.

The strikers, who drove their vehicles towards the republican Supreme Soviet, handed over a statement describing the situation in Lithuania as disquieting.

"The republic's working people are unsure of their future. Dozens of enterprises have ground or are grinding to a halt, their workers have no livelihood", the message said.

The drivers put the blame for the hardships on the Lithuanian parliament, which repealed last March the Constituions of the USSR and the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The striking workers demand that the Lithuanian legislature annul its unlawful acts or resign.

They issued an address to the working people of the Soviet Union and Lithuania, saying, in part: "The unlawful actions by the republican Supreme Soviet put the working people into an extremely difficult economic situation, as enterprises are being closed, and tens of thousands of people are not guaranteed the right to work.

"We respect the democratic traditions of people of all nationalities living in the republic and share and support the protest of voters who did not empower the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet to take decisions that break the destinies of millions of people".

Immediately after the protest action, the republic's transport minister ordered its organisers to be sacked.

Lithuania Issues Statement on Economic Blockade

LD2804224290 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] The Lithuanian government has issued today a statement on the actions of the Soviet Union against Lithuania. The statement says that public opinion is being formed both in the Soviet Union and the West to the effect that only limited restrictions of supplies are being imposed on Lithuania. Everybody is free to name the present economic situation in Lithuania as he or she wishes. However, the Lithuanian government calls it economic blockade in effect.

Confusion Causes Low Attendance at Vilnius Rally

LD2804025690 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Following several years of rallies in Lithuania which Moscow termed as anti-Soviet, it seemed highly probable that today we would be seeing an anti-American or anti-Western demonstration.

Today the Lithuanian Liberty League staged a rally in Independence Square in front of the Lithuanian parliament, which as initially announced was directed against Western heads of state for their reluctance to take firm action in supporting Lithuania's aspirations for independence.

However, for some reason or other, the scenario was changed and demonstrators protested against the obligatory conscription of Lithuanian youths by the Soviet Armed Forces. Several radical youth organizations had earlier planned to organize a rally on this worrying issue, yet officials of the Lithuanian Liberty League spoke strongly against such a plan of action, in fear that the youths of call-up age could be easily rounded up by military troops and taken away by force for service in the Soviet Armed Forces.

Several speakers at the rally suggested that the West should be condemned for its irresolute positions with regard to the Lithuanian embargo.

This uncertainty of what the rally was about was probably the main reason why it attracted an estimated 1,000 people, an unusually low number by Vilnius standards. The organizers explained that it was the work of the KGB, which allegedly disseminated rumors about the possible rounding-up of the youths.

The leader of the Lithuanian Liberty League, Mr. Antanas Terlackas, did not speak at the meeting. Only several slogans directed against the West reflected the rally's initial intentions. Following the introductory remarks, some of the demonstrators burned their draft cards. The speakers expressed the view that there could be no compromises with Moscow. However, the assessments of Lithuania's present leadership differed enormously. One speaker referred to them as real patriots, while another expressed serious doubts as to the loyalty of some members of the cabinet to the cause of Lithuania's independence.

Those youths who have given in to pressure and have nevertheless decided to serve in the Soviet Army were criticized harshly, in contrast with the parliament's present (?stance), which maintains that nobody has the right to condemn them.

Meanwhile, former political prisoner Petras Cidzikas announced that he would be going on a hunger strike for Lithuania's freedom.

Toward the end of the rally, a member of the (?youths) nationalist organization said that the formal part had ended. What followed next made many of the rallyers cringe. An effigy of Mykolas Burokevicius, the head of the pro-Moscow Communist Party in Lithuania, was dragged into the square and set on fire. This scene was filmed by a large number of foreign TV crews. For some it will be a piquant little detail, for others it will serve as an evidence proving the allegedly malicious intent of the Lithuanians.

Savings Bank Chairman Details Monetary Controls

LD2804112290 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1005 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Interview with Kostas Jakutis, chairman of the Lithuanian Savings Bank, by presenter Algirdas Usas on 28 April; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Usas] Yesterday the republican government made some antiblockade decisions. This was mentioned briefly at yesterday's press conference and concerns the inhabitants' money matters. Kostas Jakutis, chairman of the Lithuanian Savings Bank, comments:

[Jakutis] Yesterday, the republican government adopted a decision on antiblockade measures to control the circulation of money and financial settlements. In this decision, it is envisaged not to pay certificates, settlement checks, credit notes, or checks drawn on savings accounts of the USSR Savings Bank issued outside Lithuania. At the wish of the republic's residents, the sums of these securities could be included in the deposit accounts.

Apart from that, cash payments to depositors will be limited for the period of two months to not more than R500 per month. At the wish of the depositor, larger sums can be written off from his account to pay for goods and services. Cash credits will not be granted.

At the same time, I want to state that the bonds of 1982 internal state loan temporarily will not be purchased from residents.

Such are the basic measures, but they are temporary, until the situation in the republic improves. At the same time, I would like to ask officials of the Savings Bank in the republic to have sufficient sums to pay wages and pensions.

[Usas] So you would advise those who wish to withdraw small amounts of cash not to hurry up and stand in line?

[Jakutis] I ask the republic's residents not to panic. This is a temporary measure and those who wish to withdraw R500 may do so at any time. All other payments for goods and services can be made by the bank.

[Usas] You have given corresponding instructions to the branches of your bank?

[Jakutis] Yes, at present I am instructing all branches in the republic. This measure comes into force today because the government's document was adopted yesterday.

Vilnius Cycle Rally Defies Blockade

LD2904113490 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1030 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] Day by day so far, Moscow has been tightening the blockade against Lithuania. But despite that, we shall hear, the Lithuanians have not quite lost their sense of humor. Today, for example, a cycle demonstration was held in the capital, Vilnius, where the demonstrators, jokingly and seriously, made it clear that they will not be cowed by the Soviet blockade:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker in English] Stubborn—we are not stubborn! We are determinated [as heard].

[Kjell-Albin Abrahamsson] Determinated?

[Voice] Determinated! If we survived 50 years of Soviet power, we can survive two years of blockade. [end recording]

[Abrahamsson] We are not stubborn, we are determined. If we have survived 50 years of Soviet power, we can survive two years of blockade, says Algimantas Cekuolis, chief editor of Sajudis' biggest daily paper. Together with 2,000 cyclists, he is leading a demonstration that started at lunchtime outside the parliament building here in Vilnius. It is a very humorous demonstration by 2,000 cyclists, as I said, all of them with the same placard, saying "We can get on well without petrol." That claim is of course an exaggeration; Moscow's energy blockade is in fact very noticeable. Lithuania uses over 16,000 tonnes of oil a day, so of course it suffers from the blockade. Motorists have to survive on 30 liters a month, which means that few cars are on the roads here in Vilnius. But with today's cycle demonstration, the Lithuanians want to spur each other on to show that they won't be cowed by the energy blockade. The joint letter from President Mitterrand and Chancellor Kohl is regarded as a breakthrough here in Vilnius, but what is needed, they say here, is for Moscow to show a little goodwill too. And while they wait for that, various demonstrations are being held here with the theme: Everything is negotiable except freedom. Kjell-Albin Abrahamsson, Vilnius, Lithuania.

TASS Views Lithuanian 'Volunteer Detachments'

LD2804153590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1326 GMT 28 Apr 90

[By Serafim Bykhum, TASS correspondent]

[Text] Vilnius, 28 Apr (TASS)—After the decision by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] on Lithuania's secession from the Soviet Union and its adoption of other acts violating the Constitution of the USSR, an announcement by "Sajudis" appeared on the streets of the towns and villages of the republic calling on men aged 19-40 to register in volunteer detachments, or "Savanoriai" ("Volunteers"). Almost simultaneously, a commission on the protection of the area and on the republic's internal affairs was set up, attached to the Lithuanian Supreme Council.

In an interview with a TASS correspondent, Audrius Butkevicius, deputy chairman of this commission, reported that 350 people are part of the "Savanoriai" in Vilnius and around 2,000 in Lithuania as a whole. In his words, the "Savanoriai" do not yet have their own structure or documents regulating their activities. Butkevicius admitted that "There really are "Savanoriai" headquarters in the republic, attached to the local governments, which act independently, proceeding from the situation which has taken shape in the region in question and which are subordinated only to these local governments." At the same time he denied that the current "Savanoriai" are the successors of the detachments with the same name which existed in 1918-19. At that time, their representatives dealt cruelly with Red Army members, including those of Lithuanian nationality.

Commenting on this interview at the request of TASS, I. Kucherov, an eminent Lithuanian lawyer and doctor of Juridical Sciences, noted that individual "Sajudis" leaders, especially Vytautas Landsbergis, the current chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, whose father was in the past a member of the "Savanoriai," and signed the greeting "To the liberator of Lithuania and the rescuer of European culture," Hitler, in 1941, stress the continuity between the volunteers of 1918 and the current ones. What is more, during Hitler's occupation of Lithuania, security battalions which carried out punitive operations in Lithuania, Belorussia, and in Smolensk Oblast in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] were formed from such volunteers. After the liberation of Lithuania by the Soviet Army, volunteers remaining from the security battalions made up the skeleton of the "Forest Brothers," bandit formations which conducted an armed struggle against Soviet power.

In Kucherov's words, military specialists—retired officers—are leading the current "Savanoriai" detachments. Among the instructors are many sportsmen, who mainly teach unarmed hand-to-hand combat. This is virtually the base of the Lithuanian armed formations, the creation of which "Sajudis" figures have long dreamed about. In addition to this, a type of storm troopers [shturmoviki]—special militia detachments—are being formed from them.

Pro-Moscow Citizens' Committee Hold Congress

LD2804203890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1745 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] Vilnius, 28 April (TASS)—The constituent congress of Citizens' Committees of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic was held here today.

Delegates at the congress adopted a statute on Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic civic committees which says in particular: "The abolition by the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet of the Constitution of the republic and the USSR Constitution has given rise to a dangerous crisis of authority and has undermined the population's confidence in it. The previous system of citizens' social defense which is liable for radical perestroyka has been destroyed and people living in the republic have been left defenseless. In these conditions the people of Lithuania have shown their initiative and set up civic committees for the defense of citizens' rights and vital interests."

The congress has also adopted several other documents. For example, one statement notes: "The constituent congress of Citizens' Committees of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic expresses political no-confidence in the republic's Supreme Soviet and demands that the republic's Supreme Soviet and government resign their powers."

Delegates at the congress expressed support for the participants in the warning action by representatives of motor transport enterprises in the city of Vilnius on 27 April.

The congress elected a Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic civic committee consisting of 63 people. Vladislav Shved [secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party on the CPSU platform] was elected chairman of the committee.

Delegates Speak Out

LD2804175690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] The constituent congress of Citizens' Committees of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] took place in Vilnius today. A report by Aleksey Kolachev, our special correspondent:

[Kolachev] Over 500 delegates from the whole republic assembled at the congress, and that is significantly more than its organizers expected. The name of the committees which have been instituted here speaks for itself. It is an organization, the aims of which are to assist on the territory of the republic the guarantee of the operation of the Lithuania [SSR] Constitution and the Constitution of the USSR, of Soviet laws and other acts of supreme bodies of power and government of the Soviet Union. I shall remind you that the operation of the listed laws has been revoked now by the present leadership of Lithuania. Another aim is to consolidate all sociopolitical forces recognizing the people's socialist choice and orienting themselves on the renewal of socialism and the Soviet federation. A few words on the prehistory of that congress. On 18 March in Vilnius there was a many-thousand strong rally at which the Committee of Citizens of the USSR in Lithuania was set up. Offspring of it appeared quickly in all major cities of the republic, in 30 of its rayons, and hundreds of labor collectives. Today, they have been transformed into Citizens' Committees. A short interview with delegates of the Congress of the Committees of Citizens of the USSR:

[Begin recording] [Varshavskiy] We represent the labor collective of the Spartak knitted-goods factory in Vilnius. It is a working factory, and I am a member of the party committee. My name is Varshavskiy.

[Dolgopolova] Dolgopolova.

[Korablev] What should the committees handle?

[Dolgopolova] The defense of civil rights. We want to be confident about the future; we want our children to be confident about their life in the future.

[Varshavskiy] We want everybody to be sure that he won't be dismissed from an enterprise because of his national origins or, moreover, his political views. The Committees of Citizens will deal with these questions.

[Kalinin] I am Granin Kalinin, a worker at the same factory. I think that committee ought to defend our social rights. Well, since these rights have already been violated in the republic, workers in our factory are worried since the present government does not reflect our interests, on the whole. It did not ask us what we want.

[Korablev] The program of their activity has been adopted and coordinating bodies have been elected at the constituent congress of Citizens's Committees of the Lithuanian soviet socialist republic. And this evening the congress finished its work. [end recording]

Shved on Committee's Aims

LD2804215190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1700 GMT on 28 April, in its "Vremya" newscast, broadcasts a two-minute video report from Vilnius by television correspondents S. Dorenko and I. Galperin on the situation prevailing in Vilnius. The report begins with the video showing people going about their business

on the streets. However, Dorenko says, political developments continue. The Consituent Congress of Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Civic Committees was held here today. Its aims are to ensure that Lithuania remains within the framework of the USSR. Scenes from the congress are shown and then there is an interview with Vladislav Shved, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party on the CPSU platform and newly elected chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Civic Committee. He says: "In the first place we will try to restore the validity of the USSR and Lithuanian SSR Constitutions on the republic's territory; the second point is the legal, social, and political protection of the people, the republic's population."

The committee, Dorenko says, is against the Lithuanian government's decision which hurt those in favor of Lithuania remaining part of the Soviet Union. The interview with Shved then continues:

"We have many instances where people feel a lack of protection, for example from the point of view of being made redundant. People, so to speak, do not have confidence in the future," Shved says.

Today there was also a session of the Lithuanian Supreme Council Presidium Dorenko says:

"After the session we asked Vytautas Landsbergis at a news conference to tell us about his answer to Francois Mitterand and Helmut Kohl's message, in which they propose that the validity of the decision by Lithuania's parliament be rescinded and that it begin talks with Moscow." The video shows the press conference and Landsbergis speaking, while Dorenko summarizes Landsbergis' remarks:

"Vytautas Landsbergis said that in his opinion the message and the proposal it contains are very constructive. There can be no question of rescinding the validity of the decision on independence. But the Lithuanian parliament is prepared to discuss other disputed questions. He expressed the hope that the participation of France and Germany in solving the Lithuanian problem will not be confined to this message. We are hoping for their mediation, Vytautas Landsbergis said."

Zorin says Lithuania a 'Test' for Relations

LD2904093890 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Weekly commentary "Vantage Point" by political observer Valentin Zorin]

[Text] I have read in THE NEW YORK TIMES a very sensible remark that the situation in Lithuania is a test for Soviet-American relations. The way President Bush and President Gorbachev act in this case will show if they regard each other as partners or opponents. That made me recall the words of President Bush at a press conference in Malta after the summit meeting about new relations between our countries. All those present understood of course the importance of that pronouncement, but not everyone realized how hard it would be to put it into practice.

In the months that have passed since Malta the Soviet side confirmed its earnest intention to follow that accord, though this is far from simple given the complexity of the current global changes. The political processes in Eastern Europe are sometimes accompanied by hostile actions by some forces towards the Soviet Union. This causes concern to Soviet people, but Moscow shows maximum reserve in ignoring the provocations of extremists.

Now I think it is Washington's turn to be tested. The destabilizing factor now is the adventurist course of the Lithuanian leaders. Some politicians in the United States have been trying to take advantage of the events in order to disturb Soviet-American relations. Foremost in that campaign are people long known for their reluctance to see the international tension defused. The former adviser of the Reagan administation, Richard Perle, has accused President Bush of overt surrender of America's positions. But Moscow is not denying Lithuania's right to secede, the point is that such a secession should come not as an act by a handful of politicians but as the will of the Lithuanian people expressed in a referendum. As President Gorbachev told a group of American senators recently, a divorce has to follow a legal procedure, it cannot come as a one-sided act without consideration for the other side's interests.

In these conditions attempts by some American politicians to fan tension and demand sanctions against the Soviet Union look like political irresponsibility. In fact some Washington politicians prove to be unprepared for reasonable actions in this acute crisis. All the more valuable is the balanced position of the Washington administration fully appreciated in the Soviet Union. That was a display of comonsense in full keeping with the mood of ordinary Americans, judging by opinion polls. I see that more and more people understand how much is at stake in the Soviet-American relations and so wish our countries to act as partners rather than opponents.

Lithuanian Deputy Urges Ties With USSR

LD2904140190 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Excerpts] The economic situation in Lithuania has been getting increasingly complex. It was announced on Saturday that coal supplies there were halted. The republic has been burdened by the economic sanctions imposed by the Soviet leadership for over a week. The termination of oil deliveries and the reduced shipment of gas have caused the closure of enterprises. The cargoes have been piling up at the railway terminals since there are no trains to carry them away. The shelves in shops have been empty. In these conditions the Lithuanian parliament has passed a law vesting the government with

special powers. In the meantime, the construction of industrial facilities has been suspended, some foodstuffs and consumer goods have been rationed and so has been the consumption of petrol. How can events develop further? Here is the view of the Lithuanian Member of Parliament Justas Paleckis, who is a secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

I don't think, Justas Paleckis says, the situation is hopeless. With mutual understanding and goodwill the conflict can be settled in principle. It's possible to find a mutually acceptable formula, even though this will apparently require long and hard discussions. What has taken place in Lithuania is not a conspiracy by professors or a palace revolution, but the real expression of the majority's desire for independence. On the other hand, Lithuania will hardly do well without close and friendly ties with the Soviet Union. To count on the West alone is an illusion. Such a thing is impossible for economic, political, and other reasons. Paleckis voiced the view that with Gorbachev at the helm the Soviet leadership may find a way out of the crisis, despite the circumstances that are extremely difficult for both sides.

As for the Soviet leadership's approach to the conflict, it remains unchanged, as the chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Soviet parliament, Rafik Nishanov, confirmed at a news conference on Friday [27 April]. [passage omitted] Many people in Lithuania are now looking forward to what the politicians will decide. However, the republic's leadership is preoccupied with the economy and has put the Lithuanian ship in political drift. How long will this drift last?

Western Approach to Lithuania Praised by Spokesman

LD2804141990 Moscow TASS in English 1401 GMT 28 Apr 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—"The position of the Soviet president and the government on the Lithuanian problem has not changed: Its settlement must be achieved in the framework of the Soviet Constitution and peaceful dialogue," the Soviet president's press secretary told a news briefing here today.

Arkadiy Maslennikov said that despite many dramatic collisions, it seems an "awareness of the need to return to the road of reason is felt in Lithuania and abroad."

The appeal by Francois Mitterrand and Helmut Kohl to the Lithuanian leadership, the spokesman continued, "stands not far from the line which has been pursued by the Soviet leaders from the beginning."

The position of the U.S. President testifies to George Bush's serious appproach to the situation in Lithuania. It is also important that the position of the U.S. President reflects the feelings of the American public, as revealed in recent public opinion polls, Maslennikov stressed.

Lithuanian Delegation Reports on Moscow Trip

LD2704222690 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] The delegation of the Lithuanian Supreme Council has come back from Moscow. Its objective was to start consultations concerning talks with the Soviet Government. As deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, Bronius Kuzmickas, who headed the delegation, told Radio Vilnius, they could not do it as the Soviet authorities did not want to meet them. Only after they wrote a letter to Mikhail Gorbachev informing him about the delegation's arrival, matters improved somewhat and they were received by some high-ranking Soviet officials. The only answer, however, was that there could be no talks until Lithuania reverted to the situation of 10th March. This stand seems to have been agreed upon and was repeated by all. Incidentally, as to the economic blockade, the officials said they had heard only of reducing the supplies of oil.

Lithuanian Daily Notes Border Reinforcements

LD2704230590 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] The Lithuanian daily (LIETUVOS DIMITAS), citing the Moscow daily TRUD, reports that the frontier posts in Lithuania have been reinforced from 50 to 100 frontier guards each. According to the department head at the headquarters of the frontier troops, Anatoliy (Parachin), the Soviet Army fears that weapons and other subversive equipment will be transported to Lithuania via different frontier posts, by land and by sea. All vessels in the Baltic Sea are carefully checked.

Professor Interviewed on Economic Blockade

LD2704224590 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] During yesterday's sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Deputy Anatoliy Sobchak, a professor at Leningrad University, proposed that the Supreme Soviet should hear the USSR president or prime minister's information about the economic sanctions against Lithuania.

In an interview for the LITHUANIAN NEWS AGENCY, ELTA, Anatoliy Sobchak, analyzing the economic war against the Lithuanian nation, concluded the sanctions meant in fact that Lithuania was no longer recognised as a part of the Soviet Union. And as long as we do not recognise officially the fact of Lithuania's secession from the Soviet Union, said Anatoliy Sobchak, all the current actions of the Soviet leadership are unlawful. The deputy pointed out that the worst thing was when one of the parties resorted to (?dictat). He emphasized that the most important thing was to sit down to the negotiations table and to make clear on what issues there were differences.

Correspondent Updates 27 Apr Lithuanian Situation

LD2704220290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Our panorama of news bulletins and music is on the air, and from the very beginning it is about Lithuania, from the very beginning it is our correspondent from Vilnius. Dear comrades, you know that the reports coming from the correspondents working in this republic show that the situation in the republic is not getting better. New information is getting through on the discontinuation of deliveries of not only products that are being sold for freely convertible currency, but various kinds of raw materials, foodstuffs, and materials. I am putting Vilnius on the air now. Elens Kurklikyte is live on the air.

[Kurklikyte] [passage omitted] On Wednesday [25 April] the Lithuanian parliament adopted a special antiblockade law that will give the government special extraordinary powers to reorientate enterprises' production operations and change production and delivery plans. The rationing of essential goods and foodstuffs is being considered. Panevezys compressor works customers collect compressors on their own transport and deliver some resources to Lithuania. The horizontal links between the partners are working efficiently.

The transportation situation is getting worse. Today a protest action made travel along many Vilnius thoroughfares impossible. The action was organized by the workers of Vilnius Motor Transport Enterprise No. 3, 5, and 8. Any actions violating public order are not approved of in Lithuania.

[Announcer] We started to talk about transportation. Let's go back to railway transportation. What is the news there?

[Kurklikyte] Today in IZVESTIYA, Railways First Deputy Minister Ginko categorically refuted any rumors about orders from above to hold back freight with a Lithuanian destination or any departmental initiatives in this sphere. But at the Lithuanian Council of Ministers sessions they spoke about railway workers blockading trains with freight for enterprises in the republic. In order for me to remain objective to the end, today I phoned Stanislav Albinovich Boyko, first deputy chief of the Baltic railway, and asked him to explian those controversial pieces of information. Here is the recording of it.

[Begin recording] [Boyko] I specially inquired with the heads of all stations if there is such a convention dealing with a Railways Ministry prohibition concerning loading for Lithuanian destinations. Not a single station can tell me. I have gotten in touch with the Railways Ministry. Well, there is the decision of the government.

[Kurklikyte] Is that the answer you had on the phone?

[Boyko] Yes, it is so. There is the government's decision to introduce partial restrictions. They are on petroleum products and metals; well with respect to these. As to metals, of course, there is curtailment of metals. Petroleum products are not delivered, with the exception of Bugeniai. And speaking on the whole, we have about 20 percent reduction in the number of railcars that arrive for unloading, about 20 percent in the last few days. As to our railway enterprises, the network is big. We resolve all the issues, and we receive all the freight addressed to all our enterprises. But, as for the Kedainiai chemical plant, it doesn't receive any apatite. This is Oktyabrskaya railway in Murmansk Oblast. With what is it connected? I am told by the association director that there is a ban, but according to my railway channels of information from Riga, there is no such issue. Among these problems, as we have a diesel locomotive pool and convey the trains, we solve the diesel fuel problem. [sentence as heard]

[Kurklikyte] And for how long will you be able to manage?

[Boyko] I think what we have in store now will last us about 45 nights and days. And now the assigning to us of Russian Federation diesel fuel suppliers is being considered. Thus, here is a one hundred percent proof that railway transportation in the republic will not halt.

[Kurklikyte] If you said that you will keep going on fuel oil for 40 days, what do you plan to do after that?

[Boyko] After that? After that we will be receiving diesel fuel. Literally, after the May holidays we must start receiving diesel fuel. It will be either from Novopolotsk, or Kirishi of Leningrad Oblast, but everything will be taken care of. And take the issue of electricity. This issue may arise in connection with the fuel shortage as, besides provision for the technology used in our operations, we also have electrical trains between Vilnius and Kaunas. We have reserved diesel powered plants. We are specifying the output so that on no occasion will we stop. [end recording]

[Kurklikyte] As you have heard, it is difficult to understand who gives the commands to blockade freights for Lithuanian destinations. But, the fact remains that many enterprises of the republic do not receive these goods. One can take heart from the fact that trains in Lithuania are not yet coming to a halt.

[Announcer] Thank you. I must remind the listeners that that was a live report by our correspondent Elena Kurklikyte from Vilnius.

Commentary on Future of Vilnius-Moscow Relations

LD2804162590 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1100 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Commentary by political observer Ceslovas Iskauskas]

[Text] A letter by West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and French President Francois Mitterrand to the chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, Vytautas Landsbergis, is regarded in political

circles as a tactical attempt to move from a standstill in relations between Moscow and Vilnius.

The leader of the Lithuanian parliament himself stated in an interview with Voice of America that the letter of two European leaders is important and positive as regards Lithuania.

However, the interpretation of their proposal to Vilnius is varied. Therefore, I will cite that part of the letter which mentions this initiative: "It would be useful for talks between Lithuania and the Soviet Government, stresses the letter, to postpone for some time the resolutions adopted by parliament. They will not lose their value because of this as they are based on the generally accepted principle of the self-determination of nations."

Apart from that, Kohl and Mitterrand assure in their letter that Lithuania has clearly stated its self-determination and therefore it can not be reproached.

This statement means the letter does not contain a direct proposal to stop for some time the decision of 10 March, but uses a mroe flexible form that it is possible to discuss the elimination of the consequences of this decision. It means the suspension of some documents.

Yesterday, the Soviet Union's Premier, Nikolay Ryzhkov, confirmed that Vilnius should revoke three decisions: On the certificate of Lithuania's citizens, service in the Soviet army, and property claimed by the pro-Moscow Lithuanian Communist Party.

It means that these documents could be a pretext by Vilnius to start a dialogue with Moscow. Furthermore, as of yesterday the French Foreign Ministry disseminated a statement that the letter did not mean the rescinding of Lithuania's independence, but on the contrary, stresses its right to sovereignty.

I would think that this method of examining the content of this letter should be used at today's meeting of the Presidium of the Lithuanian Supreme Council. The essence of the letter could be confirmed today at the Dublin session of the European Economic Community.

Meanwhile, the news has come from Moscow that, allegedly, a 10-day moratorium of Lithuania's blockade will be announced from 1 May. Maybe this is once again a trick by journalists because this was announced by American colleagues, and this morning it was announced that the supply of coal to Lithuania is discontinued.

However, I think Moscow is at last inclined to start consultations with Vilnius. It is very important at present to also calmly and realistically examine such possibilities from our side, indisputably adhering to the principal resolution, the act of Lithuanian independence.

Independent Party Calls for 1 May Solidarity

LD2704223790 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] May 1, International Day of Solidarity of the Working People, was even last year marked without the usual bombastic paraphernalia and the (?unobligatory) demonstration.

The independent Lithuanian Communist Party has distributed a message to the people of Lithuania which points out that the festive mood has been spoiled by the economic blockade launched by the Soviet Union in an attempt to obstruct the restoration of Lithuania's independence.

Lithuania has effectively felt the support of the Soviet Union's democratic forces and the solidarity of people of goodwill the world over. The Lithuanian Communist Party urges not to disappoint them, says the message, to rally them as well as the democratic political forces of Lithuania for realistic steps in defending and consolidating the act of 11th March.

The independent Lithuanian Communist Party calls to turn 1 May into a demonstration of solidarity of Lithuanian people of all nationalities for the cause of independence.

Investigation Into Self-Immolation Death Begins

LD2704173590 Moscow TASS in English 1650 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—An inquiry into the self-immolation of a Lithuanian visitor to Moscow on Thursay produced a note that may explain the suicide's motives.

Stanislovas Ziamajtis died in a local emergency care hospital soon after being rushed there in grave condition. Doctors at the intensive care unit identified the cause of death as a thermal injury that left his respiratory tract and lungs badly burnt.

Ziamajatis, 52, was married with two children and recently held a job with a cooperative, an Interior Ministry spokesman told TASS. Before that, the man had worked as a police car driver in Kaunass, but was fired as not fit for the job.

The note, found at his home, spoke of an impossible family life and a desire to commit suicide. A criminologist examination is required to establish definitely who wrote the note.

Suicide Letter Found

LD2904144490 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] There is no doubt now that the Lithuanian who had set himself on fire in Moscow on Thursday did this

for a political reason. It was an act of protest by Stanislovas Zemaitis, 52. He died in hospital of heavy burns the same evening. Stanislovas Zemaitis had left a letter at home in Lithuania saying that he could no longer endure the raging of the Soviet paratroopers and the stoppage of all vital supplies by the occupants, thus leaving the people of Lithuania jobless. I have left for Moscow to set myself on fire in the Red Square, ends the letter written by Stanislovas Zemaitis, who fulfilled his final act of protest in front of Moscow Opera House.

Yesterday late evening President Landsbergis issued an appeal stating that Stanislovas Zemaitis had exhibited feelings of high moral standards. However, now more than ever Lithuania needs every one of its children.

Deputy Ministers Appointed in Lithuania

LD2704191390 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1600 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Romualdas Ramoska and Antanas Karosevicius have been appointed deputy ministers of the Lithuanian Republic's Ministry of Material Resources.

Stasys Gailiukas, Henrikas Mackevicius, and Petras Kazys Makrytkas were appointed deputy ministers of the Lithuanian Republic's Ministry of Transport.

Julius Laisonas [name indistinct] was appointed Lithuanian republic's Minister of Construction and Urbanization.

Vladas Nikitinas and [name indistinct] Ambrasas were appointed deputy ministers of the Lithuanian republic's Ministry of Justice.

Petras Liubertas was appointed first deputy minister of the Lithuanian republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs. Vaclovas Zabarauskas was appointed deputy minister of the Lithuanian republic Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Vladislovas Jankauskas was appointed general director of the Statistics Department of the Lithuanian republic's government. [passage indistinct]

Yakovlev Interviewed on Baltic Consultations

LD2704200390 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] A member of the Presidential Council, Aleksandr Yakovlev, has said Moscow is ready for consultations with experts and meetings with Latvian and Estonian delegations to resolve those republics' self-determination issue by law. In an interview with MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS, he voiced hope that a settlement would be found in regard to the third Baltic republic, Lithuania. I do not know what it will be, a confederation or economic alliance, but we'll arrive at something, Yakovlev said. He blamed the lack of a dialogue between Lithuania and the Soviet leadership on the Lithuanian republic. The republic preliminarily decided to secede from the USSR and passed a package of laws tantamount to an ultimatum. To start a talk on equal terms, Yakovlev added, this should be suspended.

Meeting With Baltic Activists Condemns Blockade

LD2804225490 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] Today in Vilnius leaders of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party met with activists of the Democratic Platform of the Belorussian Communist Party and representatives of the CPSU Democratic Platform and of Latvian and Estonian communists. Participants in the meeting unanimously condemend the economic blockade against Lithuania.

USSR, Latvian Deputies Meet on Indpendence

LD2804224190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1730 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow, 28 April [TASS]—There was a consultative meeting in Moscow today between USSR people's deputies led by Georgiy Tarazevich and representatives of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic led by USSR people's Deputy Ilmar Bisher.

The representatives of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic stressed their aspiration toward greater state independence on a confederation basis.

The USSR people's deputies noted that the ideas of the Latvian comrades will be carefully examined. Renewal of the Union treaty envisages diverse relations between the Union and the republics.

Those taking part in the consultations agreed that the dialogue will be in accordance with existing legislation. It was agreed that at the next meeting a group of problems demanding careful study and evaluation at expert level will be identified.

The next consultative meeting will take place in the middle of May.

Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Meets

LD2904012690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1740 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] Riga, 28 Apr (TASS)—The split in the republican party organization, and the forthcoming first session of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet in its new convocation, where Popular Front candidates have receive the most mandates—these subjects determined the agenda of today's plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia.

Alfred Rubiks, first secretary of the Communist Party of Latvia, delivered a report on the situation in the Communist Party of Latvia since the 25th Latvian Communist Party Congress, and on tasks of preparing for the 28th CPSU Congress.

At the plenum it was noted that given the poparization of political forces in the republic and a real multi-party system, moral and psychological terror is spreading instead of pluralism of opinions in the attitude of communists who stand on the CPSU platform. Some leaders are making party members leave the CPSU, under the threat of dismissal.

Since the creation of an independent Communist Party of Lithuania, many party members have not yet defined their position. For this reason, stressed the plenum, a tolerant and comradely attitude must be taken toward those who are vacillating, and they must be helped to find the right path in the primary organizations. At the same time it was decided to stop financing gorkoms [city party committee], raykoms [rayon party committee], and party committees at other levels which do not form part of the Latvian Communist Party's composition.

The plenum's participants noted that antisocialist forces in the republic are using the slogans and ideas of perestroyka to prepare public awarness for a forced change in the state and legal system of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic. The essence of these changes is obvious—to break off state ties with the Union, to declare Soviet power illegal, and to remove the Communist Party from the political arena.

In such a situation, taking the renewal of society and the democratization of state power into account, and being aware of its responsibility to the people, the Communist Party of Latvia considers the dissolution of state ties with the USSR to be unsubstantiated. This conviction is founded upon the view that if state independence is immediately and unilaterally declared, without being given specific economic and sociopolitical substance, Latvia will find itself in a deeper crisis than it is in currently, the plenum said.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia called on Supreme Soviet deputies, communists, and those who were Latvian Communist Party members until recently, to weigh up once again the extent of their responsibility to the entire people and to future generations before voting for the immediate breaking off of Latvia's state ties with the USSR. [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 28 April in a similar report adds the following information: "A new structure for the apparatus of the Latvian Communist Party's Central Committee was approved at the plenum, and the procedure for electing delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress was defined."]

RSFSR

Reportage on Gorbachev Tour of Sverdlovsk Region

Visits Nizhni Tagil Factory

LD2804095990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 27 Apr 90

[S. Slipchenko report from Nizhni Tagil—recorded; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] This morning the president of the USSR arrived in Nizhni Tagil, a major industrial center in the central Urals.

[Slipchenko] Nizhni Tagil is a town of metallurgy, machine building, and the chemical industry workers. Ore is extracted, melted, and rolled here. Railcars are made of the rolled iron; goods that are produced here, too, are loaded in these railcars and send to various parts of the country along the rails that are made here as well. On the way from the airport to the town, Mikhail Seergeyevich made a stopover in the village of Pokrovskaye, where an in-depth conversation about the region's agriculture took place. And already in the surburb people raised the most acute problem of ecology. The town's factories emit 607,000 tonnes of harmful substances annually, nearly 1.5 tonnes per person.

The president was awaited at all the entrances of the Uralvagonzavod [Urals Carriage Works Association], and people told the journalists that it is a day of cleanliness in Nizhni Tagil. The streets are unusually clean and, the main thing, the sky is blue—the entire metallurgy production has been switched to a sparing mode of operation. And even this mode can be seen from any place in town.

The first conversation was with railcar builders.

[First unidentified man] We are very glad to welcome you on our soil!

[Gorbachev] I myself am glad to be here.

[First unidentified man] (?But things are not very good here, so to speak.)

[Gorbachev] I know all that.

[First unidentified man] You already know everything.

[Gorbachev] We know everything: What you have and what you do not have, what air you breathe, what you eat, and what you do not eat.

[First unidentified man] The main thing is that we do not have all those organizations. We support the Communist Party, this is our ideal, well, and there are no groupings yet [words indistinct].

[Gorbachev] And I, too, would like that there be direct and open discussion within the party, but not disorder. Listen, we are at such an important stage, we have started solving such important issues in the country, and now risk spreading our efforts too wide, you see.

[First unidentified man] The people want...

[Gorbachev] Just try to hit something this way! [raises hand and spreads fingers] But this is another matter! [clenches his first] The first thing that needs to be done is the fulfillment of the adopted decision on Nizhni Tagil. It is very important and serious, and involves...

[First unidentified woman, interrupting] Do you feel what air is like here?

[Gorbachev] Of course I do. [indistinct remarks from the crowd] I heard something has been switched off. I said: What is this all about? People live here, so is it possible that we will not be able to endure it for just a day? I learned about that here now. [more shouts from the crowd] This should not have been done. Nothing of this kind should have been done. I do know what the situation here is. I do know it. I know what the situation with water and air is.

[Second unidentified man] One can write on it! A car, a black Volga, after standing for an hour, gets so that that you can write on it, there's so much dust!

[Gorbachev] A tonne and a half per person per year, I know all that. I know what the situation with water is here, I know what the situation with supplies is. But I can say only one thing: What has been allocated, allocated to Sverdlovsk and Nizhni Tagil according to plan, to the plan we are trying, in spite of all difficulties...[changes thought] And the difficulties are great, beacuse in ten large oblasts—Ufa, Orenburg, Chelyabinsk, and many more, I will not name them all—there was a colossal drought last year, in the largest centers. And now we, at the expense of the whole country—Comrade Vlasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers...

[Third unidentified man, interrrupting] He is here, he is here.

[Gorbachev continues]...is here—we are constantly monitoring these industrial centers, and everything that was planned for Sverdlovsk for three months has been allocated. Well, so far we have been monitoring, comrades, and doing all we can. We understand what work you are doing and in what area you are living, and we are monitoring this all the time. The country should be given...[voice cut off]

[Slipchenko] Two thirds of the country's output of railcars is produced here. But the president still did not manage to inspect the assembly. People had thousands of questions, and everyone wanted to voice their grievances precisely to Gorbachev. [video shows Gorbachev mobbed by people in a factory shop]

[Gorbachev] How could such a situation have arisen, that in an area of forest and with such a developed industry there is no furniture? Or how could the situation have arisen, when in such an area with so many people and such a powerful industry, the village...[changes thought] I made a stopover on the way, and villagers started saying: Women carry fodder in bathtubs, they load it in bathtubs and then drag them along while industrial giants, science, academicians, scientific centers are nearby. It is a shame! On the whole, comrades, these things should be sorted out. I understand everything, everything you are saying comes from life. Frankly speaking, in these two days, and now it is the third day, people have been saying harsh but true words, in general. And they have been speaking seriously. And I think they have grounds for that, because they carry a great responsibility and a heavy load on their shoulders; therefore, I take notice of all this.

[Fourth unidentified man] And what can we expect in the future?

[Gorbachev] We will start discussing how to turn and manage things. We will discuss everything, and will turn things around together. I think we will find solutions and will unravel knots. Now we have come up against such a difficult stage when, as the saying goes, brains will be cracking. Perhaps we will yet speak and argue, more than once, but an answer should be given.

[Slipchenko] The word reconstruction has already been heard thousands of times in Nizhni Tagil. But when will concrete work start? This is the main question that was asked at the metallurgy combine. Sixty-four percent of its equipment—and in some shops 100 percent—has been worn out. And what patience people must have to work here! People need concrete solutions, figures, and time limits. They asked the president about that, and the workers heard what they wanted to know. [video shows furnaces and smoking chimneys; Gorbachev on a walkabout in the combine shops; Gorbachev saying indistinct words to a group of workers]

[Slipchenko] This rolling mill is two km long. And all along the way there were people, meetings, and conversations.

[Video shows Gorbachev in hard hat, surrounded by officials, talking to correspondent] [Slipchenko] One can say that this is the first visit by the first president of our country to a region that has some of the worst ecological problems in the country, some of the worst social tension. And here, during your visit, you have said on several occasions that one can feel that the tension to which people are being subjected is reaching a limit, that their patience is not unlimited. Do you think that there is much of the credit of trust, about which you spoke earlier, still remaining? Or is it...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] I have had impressions, contacts, and conversations here in Sverdlovsk Oblast, in the Urals, in the center, so to speak, of a very big region of the country, let alone of the Urals. These conversations show that, no matter how critical people are about events in various spheres of life, in the framework of perestroyka, the people of the Urals are in favor of perestroyka, in favor of the changes continuing. Furthermore, they are in the mood, I would say, to support decisive steps. I have arrived here at the height of this debate in the country, about the transition to the market and what it entails. People want an explanation. But they also favor a development in precisely this direction. People advocate an acceleration of these processes.

I think that the people of Sverdlovsk are absolutely right to think the way they do. They realize that there is nothing to redistribute in the country, that we must do

all we can to produce, that we have to produce. They do not want to depend on other people. All they are asking for is to be allowed to develop. Given the potential that there is in the Sverdlovsk area, they say, we can augment our work, enter into contacts with other regions inside the country, on the internal market, and even tap the external market in certain areas. We can set up contacts and take decisive steps. This will produce results, both in production and in the social sphere—especially in the social sphere. I would say that I have been pleased by this. The people are strong. They are strong. They are sticking firmly to the cause here. But they are also putting forward firm demands. In pondering the new radical steps, in the radicalization of the reform, they want us to bear in mind these wishes. Give people, themselves, more freedom to develop. That is what they want.

[Slipchenko] In other words, you think that there is not enough freedom. But we have always said: Just look at how our Urals region has developed. Just look at the gigantic industrial projects and the huge engineering and metallurgical enterprises. And, indeed, they are gigantic. So, we have developed, wouldn't you say?

[Gorbachev] I didn't mean to belittle what has been done for the country by the people in this area. I won't go far back in history. Take the war years, for example. We visited the railway car works.

[Bystanders] The Urals railcar-building works.

[Gorbachev] The Urals railcar-building works. There, I was told that, during the war, half of the T-34 tanks were produced here, came from here. That is what the Urals means to us. That is what Nizhniy Tagil means to us.

[Fifth unidentified man] Thirty-five thousand tanks were turned out here.

[Gorbachev] The director tells me that 52 percent of the freight now carried on our railways is transported in railcars like these. And all this happens in one single town.

So, I think that we should look at things this way. We do have foundations to depend on. For this we should give the credit to preceding generations. Their life here was not wasted. I will never agree with anybody who wishes to cast aspersions on what was done in this area or to negate its achievements. That would be to show disrespect. If we show disrespect to our fathers and grandfathers, we are also showing disrespect to ourselves and to our country.

Therefore, I would put it this way. In spite of all the criticisms being made, the people of the Urals are proud of what they have done. I support them in this. It seems to me that the Urals area must now put the emphasis on getting rid of the distortions which have come about in development, in the deployment of productive forces, which have led to an overconcentration of heavy industry in this region. This has caused ecological problems, and harmed the environment and human habitat. One more thing: The people of the Urals must develop their potential. I spoke about this yesterday. They do not have to go far off. They do not have to turn to distant markets. What they have to do, first and foremost, is to implement plans which will assign everything to agriculture and to the people who work on the land. They should simply give land to the workers who want it. Given the potential there is in this area, a fine, efficient, and modern agricultural industry can be created here. This will immediately give people a return on their labors. Immediately.

But apart from that, the Urals region, given its industrial might, probably needs the country's attention. And all those who receive products from the Urals, all those things which it provides—and it gives them a lot—must understand this, and meet their debt just as the people of the Urals are doing. Despite all their complaints and criticisms, the people of Sverdlovsk are doing a lot to discharge their obligations. That is an example of what I mean.

I did not hear any ultimatums. Nobody gave me any ultimatums. Many just demands were made, especially here in Nizhni Tagil. But no ultimatums were made. People understand the situation. What use are ultimatums when the country is under strain, when everything is at such a turning point. At such times we have to keep our emotions under control. I very much appreciate this. This is also support. So, when you newsmen make such a fuss about the people all...[changes thought] No. The people are rightly demanding that we should proceed still more firmly and consistently. We must listen to this.

After all these conversations about acute problems, I cannot say that—I can only say that my respect for these people, for their truthfulness and honesty, has increased. I did not feel that we had lost support. On the contrary, I am leaving in the belief that we will do our work better, because people have confidence in what we are doing. And they will do what depends on them.

[Slipchenko] I have a final, brief question. Can the mood of the entire country be judged by the mood of the people here in the Urals?

[Gorbachev] Yes. This is a complex, difficult area which demands great efforts from people, from the working people. It is a big area, an area which is connected with the rest of the country. Everything converges here. The Urals area sends its products to all the regions. In this sense, I think that everything I see here shows that our people's confidence has not declined, even though their criticism has increased. But I think that now is the time for such criticism. These are the bells telling us that we must act more decisively. We have said a lot to each other. We have also understood a lot of things. We have made the right choice. Now we have to place the emphasis on concrete deeds, on concrete deeds.

[Slipchenko] You mean that the time has come for decisive measures?

[Gorbachev] Yes, decisive measures. I believe that is so.

Discusses Economy, Ecology

LD2704145990 Moscow TASS in English 1429 GMT 27 Apr 90

[By TASS special correspondents]

[Text] Nizhni Tagil (Sverdlovsk region) April 27 TASS— Nizhni Tagil, a city of steelmen and machine-builders, welcomed President Mikhail Gorbachev today who arrived here from Sverdlovsk. The last day of Gorbachev's visit to the middle Urals was packed with numerous frank discussions with workers about urgent social and economic issues and the acceleration of economic reform.

Founded about 270 years ago, Nizhni Tagil has turned into a mammoth industrial complex during the Soviet years. It occupies a leading place in the Urals economic area. The city smelts pig iron and steel and manufactures rails for all Soviet railways, freight wagons and wheels for them. Nizhni Tagil also boasts its chemical and munitions factories.

Gorbachev began his tour of the city with a visit to the Uralvagonzavod [Urals carriage works association]production amalgamation. The largest Soviet complex producing heavy-duty gondala cars. The president's first encounter with machine-builders in the enterprise's main yard determined the content of numerous meetings which took place later at workshops: the economy and ecology.

Machine-builders said that the amalgamation is living through difficult times. It is good that conversion brings down the volume of munitions production. However, it is necessary to retool military production facilities in order to mass-produce consumer goods.

Factory workers told Gorbachev that the conversion process involved problems that are sometimes acute: wages dwindle and some skilled workers have left the enterprise. The situation is also affected by the lack of clear-cut plans, low production discipline and irregular supplies.

"We regard conversion as a substantial reserve for restructuring the economy and transferring it to a market system," Gorbachev said.

"The defence complex, into which the country invested much effort, talent and funds, can and must help in saturating the market with goods. To organise this work smoothly, we are drafting a state programme for conversion," the president stressed.

The last meeting took place nereby a workshop. People enjoyed the blue skies of a sunny spring day and sprouting leaves of trees. Alas, this is a rare joy for Tagil citizens. The sky over the city is more often shrouded with multicoloured smoke from chemical, steel and other mills. Today's azure sky is simply ecological window-dressing: workers told Gorbachev that some ecologically harmful facilities had cut operations several days before the president's arrival.

Meets With Factory Workers

LD2704140390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Our special correspondent Igor Zorin reports from Nizhni Tagil.

[Zorin] Good day, esteemed listeners. This is a live feed from Nizhni Tagil. Literally a few minutes ago, I dashed into the Nizhni Tagil technical center for Union and trunk communications and television, and now I hasten to transmit a brief news item.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, our country's president, arrived in Nizhniy Tagil today from Sverdlovsk. His first meeting here today took place in the military cantonment at Nizhni Tagil's airport— with officers' families. Then there was an unexpected 40-minute conversation in the village of Polrovskoye, where staff at the Tagil pedigree livestock sovkhoz [state farm] live and work.

Then the president was to have a conversation, lasting many hours, at Uralvagonzavod [Urals carriage works association], where, I will remind you, the victorious weapons of the Great Patriotic War, the famous tanks, were forged.

As you drive into Nizhni Tagil, you read the inscription, well known nationwide: The Urals are the country's backbone. Yes, that's perfectly true, but today social sores have, unfortunately, long been apparent on its body too.

And so, after Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev had passed through the Red Gate, as the main entrance to the Uralvagonzavod factory is called, meetings and conversations with factory workers began straightaway. Well, I am switching on the reporter's recording. Switch it on please.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified male voice] Mikhail Sergeyevich, hello [words indistinct]

[Gorbachev] Good day, comrades. [voices in background] Well, you have been standing quietly. [Gorbachev laughs]

[Unidentified male] We have been waiting for you for a long time.

[Gorbachev] You've got a lot of strength, a lot of strength. [indistinct background voices] Well, for a long time, I've been intending to come, for a long time I've been intending to come to Sverdlovsk (?and the Urals). Nizhni Tagil is Nizhni Tagil—there's just one of it in the country and it's known to everyone.

[Unidentified male] [words indistinct] (?And do you intend to come back tomorrow?) [laughter in crowd]

[Gorbachev] I think that since they live here, then (?I can come here for one day). [indistinct exchange between Gorbachev and crowd]

[Unidentified male] What are your first impressions [words indistinct]?

[Gorbachev] Well, so far [words indistinct]

[Unidentified male] Your first impressions?

[Gorbachev] (?All my impressions consist in what I know—what is happening here, what is being done, and [words indistinct], that I know). And just now, I glanced over our panorama from the plane. [indistinct background voices]

[Unidentified male] Mikhail Sergeyevich, (?This is the third time you've breathed the fresh air here...[words indistinct]. [indistinct background voices, laughter]

[Gorbachev] Maybe, I don't even need to come, but just to say: I will come. [laughter in crowd; 'yes', 'yes' heard] Well, I think that you will smash all plans here.

[Unidentified female] No.

[Unidentified male] No.

[Gorbachev] And do you know, do you know that a government decision on Nizhni Tagil was adopted in March?

[Unidentified female] No.

[Unidentified male] Yes, [words indistinct] (?I know.)

[Gorbachev] Not yet? [indistinct background voices]

[Unidentified male] Yes, it's in the press.

[Gorbachev] It's been published. You don't read newspapers. It turns out that it's even been in the press. Read the newspapers! [words indistinct from crowd] The decision is for five years.

[Unidentified male] Yes.

[Gorbachev] And [it] embraces production, including ecology, municipal affairs, social-cultural and everyday affairs, housing. Well, so to speak, well, everything needs to be done now to implement it as a first step. I do now know how things are there in the carriage works... [indistinct interruption]

[Unidentified male] Now, in our plant, (?fifty) million rubles is allocated to ecological problems in the next five-year plan, that is twice as high as the previous period.

[Unidentified male shouting from the crowd] How is your health? [laughter in crowd] [Gorbachev] Probably because generally, there's no time to think of anything except for...therefore, [words indistinct]. I recall that father returned [from the war]. How terrible it was. His arm was hurt. Four years, a sapper, in the trenches, he drove, (?in the swamps). Nothing hurt and then it began to. First one thing, then the other. It probably will later. But just now, it's alright. It's alright now. [passage indistinct]

[Unidentified male] Mikhail Sergeyevich, when did you drive to our place? How long did it take you?

[Gorbachev] I flew, I flew. [passage indistinct]... Well here? From the airport?

[Unidentified male] Yes, yes, yes.

[Gorbachev] Well, it is possible to get through [words indistinct]

[Unidentified male] The roads are awful. [indistinct words from crowd]

[Gorbachev] Well, I have to say, that that whole zone, the non-black soil zone, and this includes Sverdlovsk Kray, too, let's call it that, and your territory, is covered by our program of road-building. We have to [build] 300,000 [kilometers] over seven years. That is, over two years of this five-year plan, and then five years of the next, build 300,000. Incidentally, the program is being fulfilled, including here. Out of 29,000 km; 1,500 km have ben built. [corrects himself] Sorry, out of 9,000 [km]; 1,500 have been built, out of 9,000. We have busied ourselves with the roads in this kray, and [words indistinct] (?I think), have got the Army involved in this, it has to be done, has to be done. Because if there are roads, then everything will become easier... [indistinct words from crowd]

[Unidentified male] We cannot even (?transport) the harvest [words indistinct]. [end recording]

[Zorin] Now, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, president of the country, is continuing his acquaintance with the Urals carriage works. Then, visits and conversations. A visit to a metallurgical plant and conversation with the working people [is scheduled] and in conclusion, a meeting in the Dom Kultury [House of Culture] of Metallurgists with the public of the town. And on this I am ending this reportage from Nizhni Tagil.

Views Cooperatives

LD2704212790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Report by correspondent S. Slipchenko on M.S. Gorbachev visit to Ural coach-building works in Nizhni Tagil on 27 April; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] This is Nizhni Tagil, a town of metallurgists, engineers, and chemical workers. Here they extract ore, smelt it, roll it. Then they use it to make railway trucks into which they load the output turned out here. This output then gets sent to customers throughout the world

along rails which the workers here have also made. So, the entire range of production operations is encompassed here.

The first meeting with people took place at the main entrance of the Ural coach-building works. [video shows factory entrance; Gorbachev and Raisa are seen waving to a crowd of people, some of whom are perched up trees and a telegraph pole]

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] I especially like it that not only young people can climb the pole.

[Unidentified worker] Take our shop for instance, founding shop no. 3. We had 250 people and only 140 are left. One hundred people have left for cooperatives, because the salary is higher there. Everything has been cut down here and has become reduced; everything has been cut down to the minimum. We have six-eight cleaners left, against 40-50 that there used to be. What is to be done here? And we cannot restructure ourselves yet.

[Gorbachev] And what is this cooperative?

[Worker] Any cooperative.

[Gorbachev] No, no, no. In this case where have they gone to? [words indistinct]

[Unidentified female worker] Into building one.

[Worker] Mainly to building cooperatives.

[Female worker] To retailing ones.

[Worker] But mainly to build cooperatives.

[Gorbachev] Building cooperatives are needed...they are needed.

[Worker] Certainly they are.

[Gorbachev] I think that—I have already spoken about cooperatives, because everybody speaks about it, and so it's continuosly about cooperatives.

[Worker] All right, cooperatives are a good thing.

[Gorbachev] First of all the soviets must look into it locally themselves. Because local soviets, the rayon soviet and the city soviet, both register a cooperative and have the right to close it down. Therefore, where you see something is being done wrong, it should be closed there. For that there are electors and deputies. One should press hard. Nowadays it's the time when everybody can speak out, can get one's way.

[Worker] [words indistinct] But how are we to work now? Everything has been cut down. But we cannot restructure the production of goods, because we have no basis for that. We need to take more people, but where can one find people now?

[Gorbachev] On the whole we are moving toward preparing a unified law for all the enterprises, so that the conditions might become equal. Each enterprise immediately is trying to produce those goods which would be as few as possible in number and to get profit, through the price. And they are trying to get rid of cheap ones, the cheap range. We have discovered this, and that's why we have introduced incentives on children's goods and on goods for the elderly, because that does not give big profits. Incentives have been given, but still this is taking place. But if one takes the whole of the light and the food industries, agriculture, and consumer durables, everything is growing. But the incomes, the amount of money available to the population are growing much quicker, almost 1.5-2 times. And that is why if in the market one takes the money and the amount of goods the former is heavier. That is why there are, shortages. And the dark forces immediately start using the shortages, making things still worse. On top of that, perhaps, there are cooperatives that do something, for instance sew clothes. They take thread; they take clothes.

[Worker] They take all the clothes, everything...

[Gorbachev] They sew it, and sell the product. And the result is that they buy it for a state price and afterwards put their own price. That is, we have to balance everything here now. But the main thing is still to balance the incomes and the amount of goods. How? The director says that your plant now employs an enormous number of people, over 40,000. You have worked through the first quarter, and the monetary income, the salaries, have grown by five percent or even more, five percent. But the productivity has fallen.

[Worker] That's no good.

[Gorbachev] So what have you got the money for? What for?

[Worker] Because they have raised the salary.

[Gorbachev] We shall think about everything. And the most important thing now is to carry out the decision on Nizhni Tagil that we have adopted on 20 March. There is a lot in it: ecology, production and housing for 300,000, or even more.

[Worker] If you took all this under control we would be greatful to you.

[Gorbachev] We shall take it under control. [end recording] [video shows interior view of plant, where axle sets are being made, the crowd of people obscuring Gorbachev from view]

The president never managed to see the assembly of coaches. He could only squeeze himself through the narrow corridor of people. All wanted to tell him what has become painful for them.

Summary of Visit

PM2704174790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Apr 90 First Edition p 1

[Special correspondents S. Ryabov, V. Fedotov, and G. Yatsrebtsov report: "Consultation with the People: Day Three of M.S. Gorbachev's Visit to Sverdlovsk Oblast"]

[Excerpts] Sverdlovsk Oblast—[passage omitted] On 27 April M.S. Gorbachev, president of the USSR and general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited Nizhni Tagil. He immediately engaged in meetings and conversations with the city's inhabitants. [passage omitted]

Like everyone else, the people of Nizhni Tagil are concerned about the consequences of the transition to market relations in the economy. People fear that this might affect their well being and the family budget. Both in Sverdlovsk and here in Nizhni Tagil, M.S. Gorbachev described in detail how the policy of the Soviet state and the Communist Party is aimed at lifting the country from the state of crisis onto the road of large-scale, radical transformation. But we are not going to do this at the expense of the people's well being. The "shock therapy" method is unacceptable to us. We need a market for man, not vice versa. We are moving toward an efficient, regulated market economy where the working people's social protection is an essential condition. [passage omitted]

Workers, engineers, and party leaders at the Urals railcar plant and the Nizhni Tagil metallurgical combine told M.S. Gorbachev that the collectives are trying to work well but the results are not often in evidence. It is impossible to buy the basics in the stores. [passage omitted]

A large proportion of the heavy industry and defense sectors of industry are located in the Urals. This represents a vast potential which, thanks to our state's peace-loving policy, can and must be used now to produce goods for the people. At the Urals railcar plant, M.S. Gorbachev asked in detail about the progress of conversion. The association is experiencing difficult times. In the past 15 years the USSR Ministry of the Defense Industry has invested generously in the improvement of the tank production line whereas the freight car and consumer goods production shops have been ignored.

And now conversion has arrived. Talk about the sharp reduction in the production of defense output has made the collective uncertain about the future. Cadre turnover has increased. Tanks and food processors are different things, they require different skills. No wonder that specialists fear for their jobs.

Accepting the question put in those terms, M.S. Gorbachev acknowledged that mistakes have been made in this great cause, particularly at the beginning. The approach to conversion was oversimplified. Launching pot production in a place which used to produce the most complex machinery and units was not the best decision. That is the way to wreck everything built up in defense enterprises over decades. Fuller use must be made of all that is best in the defense industry—advanced technology, modern equipment, and people's very high skill—to produce sophisticated, high-quality civilian goods.

The hours and minutes spent by the country's president and general secretary of the party Central Committee during his working visit to the Urals were condensed and packed full. M.S. Gorbachev has come to Sverdlovsk Oblast to consult with the people before making major political and economic decisions, and to hear the opinion of scientists, workers, party and soviet leaders, and young people.

At the Urals railcar plant, where M.S. Gorbachev was given an exceptionally warm and cordial reception, he had just such a talk with Oleg Perepelitsa, a repairman. On seeing the strapping, athletic-looking young man, M.S. Gorbachev said that this was how he imagined real Urals men to be. The country's president asked Perepelitsa for his opinion of perestroyka.

"Like my comrades, I support perestroyka. But you know, Mikhail Sergeyevich, very many things trouble us. Foreign radio stations scream that the Russian 'empire' is disintegrating. Even in our country some people relish this prospect. It is becoming tiresome. Our vast multinational state was created over the centuries by many generations of people. Is it really falling apart? I do not just have Lithuania in mind. Here we get the impression that there are forces who try to undermine changes for the better from within. Some informal groups and latter-day parties are behaving in an unbridled and patently anti-Soviet way and indeed there people in the upper echelons of power, I think, who dislike perestroyka. We believe you, we believe you very much, Mikhail Sergeyevich. And if things are going to be difficult, turn to the people, they will always support you!"

Three days is not a lot, yet it is also a very long time. It depends on your yardstick. The dozens of meetings and first-hand information and opinions are irreplaceable. They are as vital as air to the leadership of such a vast country.

"For me the visit to the Urals and Sverdlovsk Oblast," M.S. Gorbachev said, "is of vast practical, political, and indeed human interest..." [passage omitted]

On the evening of 27 April there was a meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and representatives of the city's working people at the metalworkers' Palace of Culture.

Addresses Workers' Representatives

PM2904123990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Apr 90 First Edition pp 1, 2

[TASS report under the general heading "Time Demands Fundamental Changes": "M.S. Gorbachev Speech" at meeting with working people's representatives in Nizhni Tagil on 27 April]

[Text] The visit to Nizhni Tagil and the meetings and conversations with you bring an end to this brief but very busy stay in Sverdlovsk Oblast, this mighty region, one of the leading regions not only of the Urals and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] but the whole country. I shall say straight away: For this trip, I set myself the aim of listening more and of asking you about everything because it was very important to know your opinion—the opinion of serious people, strong in character, who know how to work, to shoulder responsibility, people who, as I have seen for myself, express their thoughts, ideas, and demands directly.

I draw great satisfaction from what has happened in the past three days. Because even when the most simple and, at first glance, mundane questions were being broached, everything ultimately had a bearing on the sphere of big-time politics. Many important problems were raised, too. If you summarize them all, you arrive at a very significant conclusion: Life in this region, where people do a lot for the country, needs improvement. And this is not an exception.

In the late seventies and early eighties we were in a position in which we sensed a particular need for hard thinking because things in our country were not going well and we could not go on living that way. It is a vast country with a great people and a huge intellectual and scientific or, rather, scientific-technical potential, perhaps the richest country in terms of natural resources but one where things weren't working, things were going wrong.

At first we thought that individual steps, important but swift measures, would do the trick. However, it proved far more complex, comrades, and the roots of our problems go deep into all spheres of our economic, political, and social life. This meant that we had to engage not in some cosmetic repair but in a thorough reconsideration of our entire experience, of everything that we have and that we have done, so that we can rely on everything of significance done by previous generations. And they did an incredibly great amount on this land.

That is what we rely on now. This is a firm foundation on which to seek new paths and at the same time the means to see and understand just what is holding our country back, what has fettered the people and their initiative. Why is it that we, with people who have shouldered a vast responsibility at the most crucial moments in history and resolved the most important tasks, have now begun to lose our way? After all, if we leave everything as it was we might simply end up on the fringes of progress, and the world has already begun to overtake us. Not just the major countries, either, but other states are entering the global arena and confidently gaining strength.

Reflecting on all this, we passed what was probably the most important stage of preparation for changes. Now we no longer act on the spur of the moment, as we go along, or off the cuff but armed with experience and—having made some mistakes, occasionally big ones—we have finally seen what we need to do.

It is clear to us now which way to go. The results of all these reflections were discussed at the Presidential Council. After two sessions there, we agreed to return to this topic 10-15 May. Meanwhile the participants in those lengthy and keen debates are finalizing their work, taking into account the principled comments which were made on the proposals that were submitted. We shall return to them and, when necessary, we think that we will begin a dialogue with society on these problems.

It is important to elucidate people's opinion—how this tallies with life. Things should not be as they used to be—when life said one thing and the official version, as it were, said another. Our activity within the framework of perestroyka has taught us a number of lessons like that, and now the country's leadership is working hard to find out people's opinions, moods, conclusions, and judgments on these questions. It was precisely that concern and desire to consult with people again before taking the most important decisions that brought me here.

Of course, three days for such an oblast as yours, bearing in mind the scale of its work and the tasks which it is resolving—this, of course, is not a lot. Nevertheless, they have been very useful, these three days.

When I reply to written questions from the hall, I shall clearly be returning to some specific problems. But even now some general conclusions may be drawn. I would say that we all—those here who represent the Union Government, Comrade Vlasov, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, Comrade Baklanov, secretary of the party Central Committee, and other comrades—we will all go back enriched by the impressions of our meetings and conversations on Urals soil.

And perhaps our deepest impression is this: You can count on the Urals people a lot. The demands raised by the times are severe but fair. But I have not sensed any panic or confusion here, instead I sensed a desire to change the situation resolutely so as to provide opportunities for resourceful, constructive, and productive work.

I also like the fact that Urals people have high exactingness, that they speak frankly and raise the most trenchant questions, as is happening in this hall now. I repeat: There is no panic among the Urals people, neither do they have an inferiority complex. Yet it did appear in some places, some people are somewhat confused when such a major change is happening when we are moving away from the old forms of life and methods of work.

There are things which must be admitted, there are. Sometimes in fright our press screams: Help! Some radicals, particularly those who love fine phrases, shout: We are all collapsing, everything is collapsing! But when you talk with people like these from the Urals you feel that they have no complex of that kind and they believe:

If we set to work properly we shall get the job done. Contact with such people also strengthens one's own faith. I believe in what we have begun and are doing. However difficult it may be, we have only one road. Yes, there are criticisms, there are things to add, adjustments to make—and that is good. That is perestroyka, that is glasnost helping to remove the mistakes and omissions. But as for a serious targeted program, an alternative to the policy of perestroyka based on our commitment to the ideals and values of October and aimed at revealing the potential of the society in which we live and giving it something different, more humane, democratic, and human—there isn't one. No one has been able to suggest an alternative and, I am sure, will not do so because we have grasped everything correctly, life has led us to this.

This is not some divine insight, no. This is a policy for which we have toiled. It must be enriched, it is necessary to see how to implement it in all spheres, it must be promoted, and the mistakes and blunders must be eliminated.

Let us think how and when to act and what to do, what the priorities must be and where to begin. That is a question of life, work, practice. But as for the choice of strategy, the thrust of this policy, no one is going to make any suggestions. There is a lot of chatter but so far no one has proposed anything of substance. This must be said. Therefore it is very good that you convey moral strength to people. Thank you for that, because I say plainly: If people have confidence in the choice of road, in the main solution, and in their own strength then we have what is most important.

A man without a firm purpose, even if he has talent but is unorganized and merely rushes about—he is not the nucleus that will set society in motion. He is like acid, which corrodes it. You do not find such things among people in the Urals. That is my strongest impression. That is the first point.

The second point. The meetings in the Urals have prompted many thoughts. Here is one: In the past we resolved problems of parity, we provided a guarantee against all possible chance occurrences and in so doing forced our then opponents, now our partners, to work on problems of peace, disarmament, and so on.

But that is not what I want to say now. We resolved the problem at a level which the richest, strongest, and most powerful state—America—and the whole world take into account. What, did we create this defense with the participation of some "outsiders" ["varyagi"] that we invited in from elsewhere? No, we did all this ourselves: the missiles, the aircraft, the tanks, all the systems. And it was done by our people and scientists using our technological resources. This is a vast sector which successfully resolved all its task—what does this show? It shows that our people can cope with the change that we must make. This change has two faces, like a coin, two tracks along which we must travel.

The first is the reform of economic relations, which would release initiative and give an opportunity to embark on the reform of ownership relations and to utilize various forms of economic management in the agrarian sector, the services sphere, industry, construction, transport, and trade—everywhere. That is what we need because, unless we do this, everything will slow down and man will be bound and shackled by everything.

Is the Urals region really incapable of setting to work on the large-scale solution of the questions worrying the people today? Well, we tied its hands to such an extent that it cannot do anything even with the might—intellectual, economic, and industrial—that it possesses.

That is the first part of the reform of the entire system of relations and the assimilation of new forms of life. We have now reached the point where we can get down to work because we have prepared, done the groundwork, and built up the experience. We have adopted laws to begin moving toward the market which is designed to reveal all these opportunities. That is one side of the coin.

The other side is scientific and technical progress. We want to live and have everything that developed countries have. That means that we need twice, three times, five times more of everything that we have today. But for that, comrades, we also need a productivity rate twice, four times, five times, seven times, 10 times higher than now. Whereas in industry our productivity is currently two and one-half to three times below the developed countries. In the agrarian sector it is five times less. How is it that we want to live better and have more of everything while remaining at the old level of productivity?

When I talk about productivity, comrades, I am certainly not questioning the fact that our people contribute a great amount of physical effort to sustain the country and drive the economy forward. No, but this is often done at the cost of ever greater strain. Under the old system we could not stimulate or support scientific and technical progress. On the contrary, the old forms of management estranged scientific and technical progress, and science in our country was reduced to the position of the poor relation. Hence the contempt for science, education, and engineers which comrades spoke of here. This is the root of it all.

I am sure that ultimately we will solve the task. But that does not removes the point that we must cooperate with other peoples. Everyone does that. That does not mean that each state must hold leading positions on all questions, no. In some areas we are ahead, there are many such areas here. Incidentally, the West sees that and offers us cooperation, and that means here, too, in Sverdlovsk Oblast. When we lift the restrictions and open up Sverdlovsk to extensive international business contacts, you will find many partners here.

The point is that, on the one hand, we must offer the world our achievements and, on the other hand, take from those areas where other nations and peoples have good products. That is how things normally are. We need to shape a competitive economy geared to man and the social sphere.

The figures and statistics show that investments in and the pace of construction of schools, kindergartens, hospitals, and cultural centers are completely different now. We have added a lot, we are increasing construction and development 50 percent, 100 percent, even 200 percent, we are turning the economy toward the great priorities of the countryside. The food and light industry is developing twice as fast as heavy industry. Therefore things are happening but for such a vast country, such a vast economy, and given the inertia of the command system, this is just the beginning. What we must do now is give these processes a mighty impetus.

When I talk about our people and the fact that I consider them capable of resolving subsequent, harder, and more important tasks, I recall of course the things that we have had to resolve in our nation's history. And since we are on the eve of the 45th anniversary of victory in the Great Patriotic War—that, after all, is a noteworthy holiday for our people and for all mankind—we must mention the feat of Soviet people here, we must greet the veterans who are among you here. We greet them and recognize that we must do more than simply say "thank you" to the older generation—we must pay homage to them for the fact that we now have an opportunity to live, work, think, and live. [sentence as published] Many thanks to you for that!

This shows that no generation in the Soviet land has lived its life in vain. Difficult burdens and trials, losses, and tragedies have befallen each generation. Each time people gave all they could. That should never be forgotten, no one should be allowed to pass facile judgment on the people, their history, and experience. We must see everything, look truth in the eyes, learn the lessons, and do our utmost to prevent a repetition of the bad and ensure that everything good, including that done by previous generations, remains with us.

We are about to pay tribute to the great victory: A major state event is planned in Moscow. I think that people in all cities and villages and in all collectives will remember once more the price at which victory was achieved and will pay tribute to veterans.

Speaking about our great victory, I cannot fail to mention the Soviet Army. Like all the main institutions of our society and state, the Army in its present condition needs renewal, of course. Our new military doctrine is being assimilated—all this is necessary but, on the eve of this glorious anniversary and as we recall the contribution of our great Army and people, it must be said that the Army is our creation, it was and remains our pride. And we must simply rap the knuckles of those who try to besmirch our Army in any way.

But this body has its own trouble spots and problems and they must be resolved. Our Army must be modern, properly equipped, and well armed. We need as many armaments as the situation demands and no more than that. If the situation changes we will change, too, although it is not a subject for facile judgments when people latch onto certain negative phenomena in the Army and cast doubt and aspersions on it. We should warn everyone about that, which I think is appropriate now on the eve of the 45th anniversary of victory in the Great Patriotic War.

There is something else. We must show greater concern for our Army's officer corps.

Look at the kind of life these people live. Here today, somewhere else tomorrow. Just as the whole family has settled down in a new place, they have to change everything: The children their school, the wife her job, and they pack up and move on...

Can it be fair or right if the state and the people do not care for their officers, the officer corps? Such an approach is intolerable. Why I am talking about this? Because when the processes of reducing the Armed Forces began it aggravated the social and everyday problems facing officers.

That is why we have agreed the following: The USSR Defense Ministry is preparing a draft special government program to include the solution of all the aforementioned questions. We must regard this, comrades, as a matter for the whole country. Some people blame the new economic reforms, economic accountability, and so forth. All republics and territories must take part in implementing the program and at state level.

We are going to discuss the military reform very thoroughly, we are going to discuss the government program to do with improving the housing and consumer conditions and material provision of the officer corps and, I believe, important decisions will be made but I want right now to draw society's and your attention to the fact that the Army must constantly feel the people's concern and society's support for it.

In our conversations in the Urals, domestic problems occupied us so much that we still have not touched on the links between our perestroyka and the changed conditions of the international situation. Furthermore, I say to you that if we had not launched this process, if we, on the basis of the new thinking, had not taken the path of detente, turned away from confrontation, and chosen the path of arms reduction, it would have been difficult for us to resolve all the important tasks facing the country.

You all remember how the "cold war" heated up in recent years and this worried us. Wherever you went there were questions. When will there be war? Will there be war or not? Will we hold out or not? This is my third

day of meetings with the people and no one has asked or mentioned that. People believe that things are changing for the better.

So we have moved away from the confrontation which could have broken out at any moment and then there would have been more Chernobyls that you could have imagined. I am not talking about the resources, billions are already being spent clearing up that disaster. That tragedy touched the hearts of all our people and we still have to investigate the after-effects. The government is preparing an integrated comprehensive program to clear up the after-effects of the accident and the Supreme Soviet is discussing the most urgent measures in the affected regions.

That is why it is very important that we move away from the lethal danger by means of arms reduction, first and foremost nuclear arms.

Look at the picture presented by the 11th Five-Year Plan and even the 12th Five-Year Plan. National income was planned to grow by 21-22 percent, military spending by 45 percent. Military spending in our country amounted to 18 percent of national income, more than in any other state in the world. It was our foreign policy, which received support and response from all continents and which encouraged positive development throughout the world, which is creating the conditions enabling us to switch these resources to the solution of social problems.

Incidentally, America has already embarked on a course of cutting its own defense spending. Although the situation should not be oversimplified, of course. And the Americans are closely watching what is happening in the defense complex here and what we are doing. Just as we make no secret that we are watching what America is doing.

I think that this is clear to everyone. Let there be no mistakes here. We do not claim greater security for ourselves, but we will not accept reduced security, either. On the basis of those positions and approaches we shall continue following this path in the course of the new thinking.

I shall dwell, comrades, on what we are doing to change the forms of economic life and move toward the market, on what we have planned for the normalization of the financial situation and the convertibility of the ruble. All this is being done so that we can become an organic part of the world market and begin normal cooperation. We cannot avoid the fact that the market is beset by a specific complex of problems in the economy, the political and social spheres, and in interethnic relations. The conversations that we have had here in the Sverdlovsk region and in Nizhni Tagil show that they must be resolved without delay.

What prompted us to recognize the need for the urgent normalization of the market? The prevailing situation in which people still did not feel that commodity turnover was increasing, even in food. Something of that kind had happened, comrades, and I think that it was primarily the basis for the production of food and industrial goods that was lagging behind. The countryside is not providing what is needed. Light industry is still a long way behind what it should be giving us. The food industry and other sectors are still only just developing their potential to produce consumer goods. We will not resolve these problems without organizing a normally functioning market. We have already tried to tackle this by directive methods and partial solutions. None of this works.

First of all it is necessary to ensure that money is earned. Until 1986-87 the volume of produced goods in our country increased by R10-12 billion a year, in 1988 even by R24 billion. Last year it was R35 billion. Do we feel the effect of this? No. On the contrary, people say to me: Things have gotten worse, they've gotten worse. People have said this here today, too. And the reason we feel no improvement is because whereas the supply of goods is increasing by six percent, seven percent, and even nine percent, the population's money incomes have risen by 11 percent, 13 percent, 14 percent, and 16 percent respectively.

That is the cause of our shortages which we have all long been familiar with. During conversations here in Nizhni Tagil I shared some student reminiscences. There was a time when I had to buy an overcoat, I got up at 0500 hours and travelled from the Lenin Hills to GUM [State Department Store] where I stood in line, and by evening got my coat. To cut a long story short, there were shortages then and there still are now. And the fact that our market has disintegrated is a very serious warning. To go on in this state is dangerous. That is why we intend in the very near future to submit for discussion a package of measures on radicalizing the economic reform, a package which provides not only the new aims of the market but control of those aims and a social protection mechanism in these conditions.

However, the reform itself also needs to be protected: One of its main conditions is that all money must be earned. Take the Uralvagonzavod, for instance. It is a wonderful enterprise with unique output and excellent quality—52 percent of Ministry of Railways freight in the country is carried in freight cars produced at this plant. Good defense equipment is also produced here. Honor and praise is due to workers like these. Yet from a conversation with the general director I learned that the following result was achieved here during the first quarter: Wages increased by more than five percent, productivity not only failed to increase, it actually decreased. Let us assume that it decreased by 1.5-2.0 percent. That means that there is already a gap of seven percent. Consequently, the money that was paid out was not for the finished product. But tell me, what can you do with this money if the same situation prevails everywhere? It is possible to print more money, of course. We can probably find enough paper for that too, but what next? This means that the most important lever of the reform is being undermined: Why work for a ruble which

cannot be converted into goods? No state can function normally without this lever. As soon as such a gap appears, measures are adopted without delay everywhere to halt this process. So far, inflation in our country is at about seven percent and is moving toward the eight-percent mark. We know from the examples of other countries that it can rise to 20 and even 40 percent and more. But that means trouble, that means disintegration of the market. Therefore we are taking important steps right now, we must put our heads together and do everything that is necessary to ensure that money that has not been earned is not paid out anywhere to anybody.

You have asked me many questions concerning Nizhni Tagil, and I cannot fail to respond to them. As for your city and the situation which has taken shape here, Comrade Yarin has supplied very detailed information to me and Comrade Ryzhkov, and on the basis of this a government resolution was formulated which outlines measures to improve the situation in the city. And then Comrade Vlasov, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, showed me a Russian government resolution which addresses many of the questions that you have raised. This resolution covers reconstruction of enterprises, the housing problem, ecological issues (investments for ecological purposes will double), and many other questions including medical supplies, strengthening medical establishments, I am not going to list everything. Many people here apparently know nothing about this resolution which was adopted in March. Therefore it seems necessary to publish it again with all the addenda so that people can monitor its implementation. We, back there, will also monitor it.

We, without waiting for general solutions, help you get out of Tagil, or rather it singled itself out through the situation which prevails here. [sentence as published; Second Edition reads: "We, without waiting for general solutions, have singled out Nizhni Tagil, or rather, it has singled itself out through the situation which prevails here."] We will help you, comrades, to overcome the difficult situation. However, you too must act more vigorously and display economic initiative in the reconstruction of enterprises, in the ecological sphere, and in housing construction. It is necessary to provide people with scope, to untie their hands so that they can tackle all problems.

As for the food question in the oblast, I will put it this way: It is a disgrace for the inhabitants of Sverdlovsk Oblast to have an agriculture like this. Only five percent of the population work in food production. The region has a tremendous industrial and scientific potential, and the agrarian sector is so neglected. Oblasts with a smaller industrial potential are doing 10 times, 100 times more. You should go to Belgorod, it is after all also an industrial region, but can it be compared with Sverdlovsk Oblast in terms of tackling the food question? So you do not want to engage in agriculture? In this attitude of yours I perceive the tendencies of the oblast's former leadership to whom I talked, just like to those in Chelyabinsk, back at the time when I dealt with agrarian questions at the Central Committee. I told the comrades then: If you have no roads in the countryside, if there is a shortage of housing, I do not believe that you really want to feed your oblast. And if women in a rayon on the outskirts of the city tell me today that they have to carry feed in a bathtub to distribute it, you will pardon me if I disagree with you even though you are shouting here with one voice, I will disagree with you, I will not agree that this a is normal attitude toward the countryside. What did they teach you? The Urals supply the country with everything, let the country supply the Urals with everything.

That is too simple a solution. Are there 0.3 hectares of land per capita? There are. Are there forests? There are. Does grass grow in the marshes and the meadows? It does. What is it all for? In West Europe all countries have between 0.3 and 0.2 hectares of arable land per capita and they provide themselves with more than enough agricultural produce. (Commotion in the hall). Now, now, comrades. I do know something about these matters. I tell you bluntly: Put some effort into your countryside, comrades. We, for our part, taking objective account of the specific features of your region, will provide support from state food stocks. But, honestly speaking, the food question cannot be resolved in this way alone, especially not in the short term. So let us put a little faith in the countryside.

There is one more topic I would like to raise—these are the problems of conversion which were discussed during the conversations at Uralvagonzavod. We took too simplistic a view of this issue at first in our pursuit of the quantitative potential of defense sectors for the production of consumer goods. We now realize that it is necessary to make very thorough use of the entire potential, cadre and scientific potential, and all the resources of this sector that are being released, to boost the production of, above all, consumer durables which are needed by the civilian sector. Therefore, it seems to me, these enterprises now require financial support and an preferential taxation policy. If they get them, they may be able to produce high-grade and very much needed things within two to three years.

I believe that we have all grasped this, and we will act in this spirit and along these lines.

Then M.S. Gorbachev answered questions from meeting participants. Most of them concerned problems pertaining to the economic and sociopolitical life of the city and the region, a more effective utilization of the oblast's industrial and scientific potential, and provision of labor collectives with greater freedom of action in the solution of social questions. However, there were also questions concerning key issues of the Soviet Union's domestic and foreign policy and democratic changes in the life of the country's soviet, party, and economic organs.

One of the questions was formulated as follows: "Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich, in view of the introduction of a multiparty system in our country, when will a law on parties be passed?"

A draft law on social and political organizations in our country is, generally speaking, ready, M.S. Gorbachev replied, and it is on the agenda of the current session.

The author of one of the written questions wanted to know about legislation concerning the national language in a number of Union republics. Does this mean that after a certain time exchanges of cadres and specialists between republics will cease, and that the number of people learning Russian will decrease? Will this not disunite the peoples of the USSR?

In my opinion, the USSR president said, your information is somewhat one-sided. People in all the republics are moving toward a correct understanding of the role of the Russian language which is dictated by life itself. Nobody is trying to foist it on people, it is simply necessary for all of us, and this is reflected in the draft law on language which is currently being elaborated by the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities.

A question was read out inquiring when the pressing problems of the countryside would be discussed at a Presidential Council sitting.

The president replied that, following questions pertaining to the economic reform, the food and agrarian question would be submitted at a council sitting.

The problem of territorial party organizations was touched upon.

I believe, M.S. Gorbachev said, that we should leave this to be examined in practical terms. The essence of the problem is—what should the structure of party organizations be in conditions of the perestroyka of the party itself, and in what way should the role of territorial party organizations change. I believe that they should play a more active role and be more keenly aware of the moods in society and in the party ranks.

"One percent of the population of Nizhni Tagil comprises citizens of German nationality who, just like all Soviet Germans, are concerned about the question of the restoration of German autonomy which was destroyed by Stalin in August 1941. Along what lines do you, Comrade President, see a possibility of resolving the problem of the Soviet Germans?"—this was the content of one of the written questions.

We, M.S. Gorbachev replied, want to resolve this problem fairly. Much has already been done to increase the volume of literature published in native languages. This is the first thing that a nation needs to survive and preserve its identity. It is planned to expand the tuition of and study in the mother tongue. This is just by the way. But we are talking about autonomy. Other people are living now in the Volga Valley region, where the autonomous formation used to be. We cannot resolve one problem by creating another. And therefore, I believe, we must put our heads together and jointly seek a solution. I welcome the initiative which was launched in Ulyanovsk Oblast. They thought about this, weighed it up, and invited comrades of German nationality to come to their homeland. By means of such consensus and good will on the part of both sides, we will make progress in resolving this difficult problem without provoking a clash between two peoples.

M.S. Gorbachev read out a written question whose author wanted to know the opinion of the USSR president on the position of the courts in a rule-of-law state.

I must say, Mikhail Sergeyevich replied, that, with the transition to a market economy, the role of the legal service increases sharply, lawyers are also needed during the implementation of the political reform when society accepts the supremacy of the law. I believe that much attention will have to be paid to legal education in our country, and especially to the education of those who will work in the sphere of economic law and the courts, of course. I believe that we must elevate the status of the courts and of court personnel.

M.S. Gorbachev commented on a number of written questions devoted to problems of improving agriculture. He noted that they raised the issue of increasing deliveries of mixed feeds to personal plots.

The president put the problem into a broader context: City dwellers and people in the countryside should be given as much land as they request and as much construction material as they need. Efforts should also be made to find the necessary mixed feeds. After all, considerably more products are produced on personal plots with smaller quantities of mixed feeds. Therefore, initiative must be stimulated wherever it is at all possible, which is what the most far-sighted kolkhoz [collective farm] and sovkhoz [state farm] leaders are doing.

A question from the floor: Do you believe that a consolidation of the party forces is possible today?

Yes, I believe it is possible, M.S. Gorbachev replied. If I did not believe this, there would probably be no CPSU Central Committee open letter or any other documents of this kind which are currently being widely discussed. I agree that they should have been issued to the party more promptly so that communists would have the opportunity to discuss these fundamental questions at greater depth.

One of the party veterans present expressed the view that what the countryside needs now are fresh forces, young men, but meanwhile they are being drafted into the Army. Maybe in some regions, in view of the depopulation of the countryside, the draft should be abolished?

There is no such simple and unequivocal answer to this question as proposed here, M.S. Gorbachev said. The military, the scientists, and the military-industrial complex specialists are currently working on this question.

We will seek optimum solutions in this area too. But I repeat, this must be done in a considered fashion rather than just by raising the question.

Many other questions from the inhabitants of Nizhni Tagil were answered. The meeting lasted several hours.

Responds to Questions

LD2904211190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Questions and answer session with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev following his speech to worker's representatives in Nizhni Tagil on 27 April—recorded; Gorbachev reads and answers questions submitted in writing by members of the public]

[Text] Comrade Pavlov, an electric locomotive driver, who is a deputy in the oblast soviet, says: On behalf of my comrades I wish to express support for everything that is being done and for the goals to which perestroyka is directed. Nevertheless, he says, we cannot agree with the present attitude toward railway transportation.

Comrade Pavlov, the proposals of the ministry responsible for your industry are now with the government. They are being examined by the Gosplan [State Planning Committed]. Our economy cannot, of course, function properly if railway transportation does not function properly. Our country is such that the role of this form of transporation will be immense.

Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich, in view of the fact that a multiparty system is being introduced in our country, can you tell us when a law on parties will be promulgated? Actually Comrade Stalikov, asked five questions.

Comrade Stalikov, I would like to say that the draft of our new law on public and political organizations is, generally speaking, ready. It has been included in the agenda of the present session. You probably noticed that when you read about the approval of the agenda. In this bill we are introducing the things which have to be tackled, first and foremost, for the reform and for the federation. This is on the agenda of this session.

Of late the Union republics have been adopting laws on the recognition of a national language as the state language on the territory of these republics. This means that, in due course, the exchange of inhabitants studying Russian will decline. Don't you think this will lead to disunity among the peoples of the USSR? That was a question from Comrade Ilyul, a miner.

No, I think you have some slightly one-sided information. Proper attention is being given to the question in the laws which are being adopted in the republics, although I know what you are talking about and what this has led to in the Baltic republics and Moldavia. But, in the first place, these individual distortions that there have been, did not encounter support anywhere. All the republics are reaching a correct understanding of the role [of Russian]. It is quite simply essential. It is dictated by history and life itself. They...[changes thought] It is not a question of somebody imposing this language. It is simply essential to all of us. It is essential to all of us. The Soviet of Nationalities is currently working on a law on language. Subsequently the law will be discussed by the entire Supreme Soviet. In fact, the chairman of that commission, on language, culture and so on, was Comrade Aytmatov. In the draft wording of that law, Russian is regarded as a language which has all-Union status [obshchegosudarstvennoye znacheniye]. Please tell us why on 26 April you were not in Kiev but in Sverdlovsk. Don't you feel personally to blame for what has happened at Chernobyl and around it? For how long will some inhabitants of Belorussia, the Ukraine, and certain oblasts in Russia be hostages to the shortsightedness, as time has shown, of state policy? And for how long will all of us, the inhabitants of the Soviet Union, be slaves to the system of passports and registration which often condemns a person to live or, more frequently, live out his entire life, from birth onwards, in the ecologically or socially deprived region where he had the misfortune to be born? I would like to hear your answers to these questions. With respect to you personally, from Comrade Yernov, correspondent for RABOCHIY, a large-circulation newspaper. Do I have to answer the first part of the question? [voices from the crowd indistinct] I cannot accept responsibility for what happened there. But since it has happened, we jointly with these people, are trying to do everything possible, and the whole of the country will do everything possible. We have already given over R14 billion to help people somehow to survive all that. And there is much more we'll have to do.

As for the passports system, I think we shall come to the point where all these questions will be solved on their own, especially when we reach the stage of the housing market. But now wherever you go the question of housing arises: If you have nowhere to live, no registration, you won't get a job, etc, etc. Clearly this problem wil reach a practical level then.

But on the whole for people who liek the place they live in, work there, and like their small homeland such issues are not so pressing. The main thing is that there should be changes for the better in all regions and all places in which people dwell. Some, of course, might have an urge for travelling.

Here the question of agriculture is being raised. The comrades are supporting the ideas I expressed yesterday concerning this, on this question, and the comrades are supporting those. Comrades Yershov thinks we have to sacrifice something for the sake of solving this most important question. I agree. At our next presidential council, after the questions of the reform, we shall consider the question of food, the agrarian one. There are increases in agriculure, but these increases do not satisfy us.

Comrade Popov raises the problem of local party organizations. I think we will leave it for consideration on a practical level. The question of what they should do

about the location, buildings, and technical equipment, and in general of what their structure should be within the framework of perestroyka of the party, and in what way the role of local party organizations has to change, is being raised. I think their role should be more active and they should be more sensitive, both to society and to the party.

Approximately one percent of the population of Nizhni Tagil consists of citizens of German nationality. Like all the rest of the Soviet Germans, they are very concerned by the issue of the restoration of German autonomy which was abolished by Stalin in August 1941. In what ways do you see a possibility of resolving the problem of Soviet Germans? Comrade (Voskhudinskiy), correspondent of the paper NEUES LEBEN for the Urals.

I think I touched upon this topic yesterday; you probably didn't hear. We want to solve this problem in a good way. Much has already been done so that—we are doing and will continue to do a great deal for cultural questions of language, the publication of literature in the native language, well, everything that a people needs for its life, to preserve its culture, its identity, including teaching and studying in the native language. That's all there. But the point at issue is autonomy; that's the question, on its restoration. Here we must find a kind of concensus, agreement in the country, in the Russian Federation. Where there was German autonomy, in the Volga region, all those areas have been settled with people. We cannot formulate the question in such a way that by resolving one issue we create another one. In that way we will engender two issues and we bring two peoples into collision, etc. And I think, therefore, that we should think and search together. I very much welcome the initiative displayed by—what oblast? [unidentified speaker says: "Ulyanovsk."] Ulyanovsk. They reflected for a bit, weighed everything up, and made a proposal to their comrades of German nationality that they come to this, their homeland, as it were. I think that through such agreement and goodwill from all parties, we will make progress.

If the elections for the country's president had been nationwide, would you have given up the post of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee without waiting for the congress?

Comrades, at present this combination is difficult. You see, in our time everything has to be managed. Very strong moves have to be made. This requires enormous efforts. But one has to take account of realities. We have entered a very serious period of a regrouping of political forces in the country, a redistribution of cadres, a distribution of functions, a transfer from the party to the soviets etc., a division of functions among the party and state organs etc. This is a very important stage, comrades. We must pass through it while preserving—doing everything democratically, so that the soviets begin to operate and the party performs properly its function as a political vanguard, and so on and so forth. I will not digress too much.

And at present, at this stage, this turning point, this regrouping of forces, it is important not to create two centers of power. You can see how painfully these processes are taking place. Therefore, we must display the maximum degree of understanding, attention to our responsibility so that there is no collision. I am certain that if we do this now, then our society will split. We do not need to do that at the moment, comrades. And so, proceeding from this alone...[changes thought] There are comrades who want to ascribe to Gorbachev tsarist, dictatorial intrigues etc., that he loves power. Well, I can't complain about this. It was I who unleashed democracy and glasnost and, therefore, I have to...[applause]—You have heard about this. I believe that as far as critical remarks from the soviets are concerned, that's fine. I will never agree with that unbridled... What? [indistinct voice from auditorium]

Dear comrades, I am only against the possibilities of democracy and glasnost, which allow us to discuss everything openly, looking each other in the eye.

Yesterday Raisa Maximovna travelled to rayons in Sverdlovsk Oblast where she had spent the years of her youth. She lived there for six years when they were building the roads to Alapayevsk, (Belyye Gliny) Verkhoturye, etc. And a conversation started with the residents. People came out onto the road on a number of occasions. They stopped and called in at the houses there and talked. And she talked with some women and she told me about it. They said: Well, what has perestroyka produced? Raisa Maximovna tried to get an answer to that question from them.

One woman said—nothing, Raisa Maksimovna. Well, now, really nothing? Another—well, don't say that. I had a pension of R40, and now it's R70. That's good already, good already. And something else—there was an elderly woman, over 80 years old, listening and she said: Well, what do you mean? what are you two cackling about? After all, we can speak calmly with anyone at all. Now, she says, I can take my papers, my appeal, and they receive me and listen to me. For years, she said, nobody was interested in how I lived or wanted to listen to me. That reminded me what Ilich [Lenin] once learned when an old woman back in the forest was gathering branches for herself and a soldier struck up a conversation with her and helped her gather and carry those branches. And then she said that phrase—there is no need to be afraid of a person with a weapon. Just look at how clever she was, that simple person who had been made wise by the experience of life, who had seen a lot, too. She had made sense of what life today has already given her. There is a lot she does not know, she does not possess that information which you and I have, and she probably no longer has the strength to listen to all that information; you couldn't stand it, not everyone can stand it. You need to be healthy, too. [melee of voices in hall] But what she said was correct—that just a few years ago, nobody listened to her. And now she goes, speaks, and gets things sorted out. That means that already different people, and different, a different style, a different atmosphere, is

evolving. And where is that? In the heart of the country, and that means things are changing.

Often, in the press, on the television, on radio, some figures state that the party is being divided into right-wingers and left-wingers. Who are those right-wingers and left-wingers? I have not yet gotten to the bottom of to which of these I belong. A member of the CPSU of 45 year standing, Koromarenko, Vasiliy Grigoriyevich. I ask you to help sort out this pluralism of opinions. Thank you. [laughter in hall, and by Gorbachev] A completely contemporary question, using new, the latest terminology. Take any movement, any collective. Take a military formation. There's a vanguard and a rear guard—for any. A collective begins to project any question, discuss, decide. Some ardently support it, others have doubts: Oh, what the hell will it yield? We will overexert ourselves. Oh, what have the bosses thought up? Pulling the wool over our eyes to get us to work harder again? That is how it is always when things are being discussed in society, too. There are people who say: For peresroyka, but let's show common sense and not hurry. I will say to you that these are not enemies of perestroyka—that is common sense that is, those people who say let's move, but get acclimatized. Look before you leap. These are the kind of conservatives whom I would describe as sound. These are people who understand and feel that they have a responsibility. They understand this and proceed to act on it. But there are also people on this wing who sense that perestroyka, democracy, the new forms of life, and the new working methods require different approaches and different people. They sense that their day is coming to an end. They start fanning these conservative apprehensions to the point where perestroyka is depicted as being tantamount to the collapse and destruction of socialism in the country, that it is the denigration and blackening of everything that we have done. They accuse us of working to undo everything. These are the people who are dangerous. In general they want to exploit the commonsense of normal people, who want our work to be carried out thoroughly and who do not want all our riches, all the country's resources to be squandered, who do not want all our work to be wasted.

On the left, however, there are other, impatient people. Just see how many problems we have. We have so many of these problems now. What's more, things have all got worse. And, of course, there is the natural, though maybe primitive, wish to solve them as quickly as possible. But I am always making this point and talking about it. Probably I, too, reflect on things, sometimes, not just in a political plane but simply as a human being, although this is probably a luxury for me. But, all the same, there is no need to throw away these qualities either. But you probably do not suspect the fact that the thing I want most of all is big and speedy changes for the better, because this would, after all, mean something for me, so to speak. Nevertheless, when you weigh up the decisions which you are taking, you have to be very careful to make sure that adventuristic wishes do not result, the natural expectation that speedy changes for the better should follow. One must avoid embarking on an adventuristic path.

I am showing endurance and I call on all comrades to consider and reflect on the options. Many of the things proposed by this radical wing are useful, democratic and energetic ideas. I am open to these suggestions. I do not think that we will find the answers to the questions which face us and the solution to our present problems, if we just stick to the old ways. We have to move forward. In this respect all the radically minded people deserve, on the whole, to have their ideas listened to. We have to adapt their proposals and make them compatible with realities. And I am sure that, when confronted with realities, they too will understand what goes where.

But, once again, on this radical wing there are political speculators who exploit impatience, the desire for speedy changes and the fact that people have already been subjected to too much stress. They want to take a gamble—this time along the following lines. We won't get anywhere with this leadership, they say. It has run out of steam. We must move faster and do everything decisively, opting irrevocably for a market economy. Let everything be thrown open tomorrow. Let market conditions be put in place everywhere. Let's have free enterprise and give the green light to all forms of ownership, private ownership. Let everything be private. Let us sell the land, everything.

I cannot support such ideas, no matter how decisive and revolutionary they might appear. These are irresponsible ideas, irresponsible ones. I think this is political speculation which is also manifesting itself here, in your area, in the Sverdlovsk area. We know the heroes of this speculation by name. Furthermore, they have even won seats, frequently as a result of these speculations. This is all deception. They want to mislead you. There are no simple solutions to such highly complex problems connected with an historic turning-point. No. This is demagoguery designed to put them in the limelight. Well, some of them have secured places. And then someone suggests to them: What about getting involved in real matters? I don't want to. Why? It's easier to criticize. [preceding sentences are accompanied by gestures indicating that Gorbachev is acting out a dialogue between one of these people and an imaginary interlocutor]

In general terms, an opposition stratum has now formed in our society. The best job—a deputy, even; paid by the state; no responsibility to take; and just toss in the odd little question. That's all very well. But when the meetings are over; everything has been discussed; policy has been shaped. Then what? Work! So that's where we are today: Work is needed—practical, new, revolutionary, heavy and difficult work has to be shouldered. And responsibility too. That's what is needed. Is it true that immediately after graduating from the law faculty of Moscow State University, you worked as a people's judge. If so, what were your impressions of this work?

I did probationary work at the People's Court. I was assigned to go and work for the Procuratorate of Stavropol Kray. I took up the job and began work. But that very same month I was seconded to Komsomol work. This was in 1955. So I missed out on a lawyer's career. As for the next question—let me read it. I would like to hear your views on the place of the court in a rule-of-law state.

In general, I must say that, since we are now going over to a market economy, we must develop this sphere. We very much need lawyers. In the political reform too, when functions are changing, when decisions have to be adopted, when laws have to be brought into effect, we also feel the shortatge of competent lawyers. We have to give attention to legal education, as a whole, in the country—above all, for those who will be working. They will also have to be familiar with economic law. Finally, as regards the courts—I think we must raise the status of the courts and judicial workers, raise it to a high level.

Comrade (Bobavyl), a party veteran, says manpower and, above all, young men, are needed in the countryside. But we are calling them up into the army. Maybe, in certain regions, we could stop conscripting them into the army, bearing in mind the fact that the villages have become depopulated.

Perhaps we could think about calling girls up. [turmoil] Comrades, I would return to what I said. We have very many experts on the subject of military organizational development. For all that I have been heavily involved in these matters for five years, I do not consider myself such. But because of this I always work through every question thoroughly with the participation of comrades in the military, the military-industrial complex, scientists and so on. And this helps me to find the correct solutions. It is not so easy to raise big issues or to submit them for consideration. Comrades, I have tried to answer as many questions as possible, and I thank you...[interrupted by applause] I thank you for your attention and for your hospitality, and I should again like to tell all you people from Nizhni Tagil, the Urals and Sverdlovsk that I am very happy to have had the chance these past few days to come face to face with you, to talk openly and from the heart. I have been greatly enriched by all that I have learned about your mighty land, a land that is faced with great problems which knock at every door and which need to be addressed and resolved. I wish you great success. [applause]

[Barkov—not further identified] Comrades! A minute of your attention! Permit me, on your behalf, to express my cordial thanks to Mikhail Sergeyevich for this meeting, for his sincere interest in the life of our town and in what concerns it. And of course, Mikhail Sergeyevich, we hope for your help in tackling the most acute problems voiced today and which you, yourself, have been made aware of. Of course, we understand full well that a very great deal depends on us alone. And permit me, in conclusion, to say that when Dmitriy Ivanovich Mendeleyev, that universally famous Russian scholar, visited our Nizhni Tagil he wrote that: The belief in Russia's future that has always been alive in me has increased and strengthened upon my intimate acquaintance with the Urals.

[Gorbachev] The same goes for me.

[Barkov] And we want you to take away the same feeling from your meeting in this Tagil land. [Gorbachev mutters: "Yes..."] And permit me, comrades, so that Mikhail Sergeyevich might remember his meetings and his visit to Tagil, to present you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, with a modest keepsake from the people of Tagil. It is a stone from the Urals, comrades, which symbolizes Russian fortitude and the wealth of the Urals. [speaks over applause]

[Gorbachev] I hope that I shall not undermine your economic might! [laughter]

[Barkov] Well, comrades, on that note I declare this meeting closed. Thank you.

[Gorbachev] Goodbye.

Returns to Moscow

LD2704180790 Moscow TASS in English 1804 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev returned to Moscow this evening after completing a tour of the Urals' Sverdlovsk region, a major industrial, political, cultural, and research center of the USSR.

Text of 26 Apr Gorbachev Speech at Youth Center

LD2904133690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1545 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Speech by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to the working people of Sverdlovsk at the Youth Palace in Sverdlovsk on 26 April—recorded]

[Text] Two things prompted me to postpone and set aside all other business and find three days to visit Sverdlovsk, to be here and talk to you. Why? Because we are being made aware of the alarm of the people of Sverdlovsk and the Urals in general at the situation that has come about during many years of development, a situation exacerbated at this watershed stage when we are switching from one set of forms of existence in the economy, politics, and the social sphere in general, to another. That is one thing.

The second is that we have reached a point in our restructuring when another considerable change of direction will have to be made. Everything that has been done up to now has been very important and substantial. It has changed everything. The country is different. We live in a different country compared to the country we lived in in April 1985, when we took the first steps in our policy of perestroyka. And I am convinced—and I think you will agree—that the country will no longer be the way it was before. And the forms of public life and the

way in which all processes evolve won't be the same. I am profoundly convinced that the people will not agree to live any longer as we lived before.

We have passed through very difficult years, above all from the point of view of making our choice. And, since it is not idle to ask what we intend to do and what we are striving for and whither we are going, and despite the fact that I have said it in public on numerous occasions in the past, I'd like once again to reply to this question during my meeting here with you. During my visit I have already been asked such questions again, since much in our lives is meeting with approval and the policy of restructuring is being supported, but justified and very-...[changes word] quite tough questions are being put concerning many phenomena which have also made themselves felt during these last few years, questions which demand clarification. Those who at the beginning of 1985, or toward the middle of 1985, proposed the policy of perestroyka, those who are today in the country's leadership, are committed to our socialist choice and to everything that we do. We want to try, together and through joint efforts, to ennoble our society and to impart to it a new quality and to create a new atmosphere in the life of the country—in the economy; and in the party, so that life is different there; and in the soviets; and in our federation; and in all institutions; and in the intellectual sphere.

Thus, the answer does not lie in a departure from socialism that diverts us to one side and to an unclear destination, and not in going back 70 years, as some people are already proposing. No, we believe that all answers to all the problems that have mounted in the development of our society need to be sought in advancing along the path of the development of our society and the renewal of it according to socialist values and on the basis of unfurling the processes of democratization and in improving the whole atmosphere in society to ensure that people feel good, breathe freely and are able actively to judge everything, to participate, demonstrate the rightness of his views, or, on the contrary, to listen to others and reach his own conclusions. But it must all proceed as befits a society of working people. This would all appear to be straightforward, but it is the most difficult thing we face. We are all children of that period to such an extent and certain standards, types, methods, and ways of thinking, acting, and conducting our lives have established themselves to such a degree—all this is sitting inside us, and we can see that we can't go on living like that. Life has to be restructured and renovated. And we are all worked up about whether we are going in the right direction or not. But it seems to me that now, over these past five years—and this is the most important thing—there has emerged an understanding in society.

For two or three years, up to 1988 and the 19th party conference, all the slogans and appeals and attempts to rouse society and to attract its attention to the policy of perestroyka failed to meet with a due response or reciprocal reaction in society. A rapid acceleration of shifts in public opinion, the politicization of society and the unfolding of all perestroyka processes began after the 19th party conference and the First Congress of People's Deputies and elections of people's deputies. All this brought all our perestroyka processes to a new phase. And our society has started to become politicized so rapidly, and through new forms of democracy, through glasnost and through public movements. It has begun to exert so much pressure on the center, the party and the state structures, spurring us to advance more resolutely along the path of perestroyka.

We have talked a lot about the fact that in some things we've had hold-ups, we've done things the wrong way, we've made certain miscalculations. I am bound to say, comrades, that despite the talk, and there have been hold-ups, miscalculations and even mistakes, this was an indispensable stage, and there is no getting away from it, there is no getting away from it.

You will remember that it was only from the experience of the Sumi works and the Volga Avtovaz works that we were able to learn what financial autonomy was all about. And then we began to try out contracting, leasing, and then cooperatives. And look, in all of these matters, how many difficult and obscure problems we came up against. People say: you did not know what would happen so you should not have started. In that case we should have just sat where we were and would be sitting there forever if we acted like that.

It was necessary to begin, at first with two enterprises, and then at three to five ministries, as you may recall. Then half of our industry went over to financial autonomy and then the whole of industry to financial autonomy and self-financing. And then we saw that the old structures were holding back the reforms and it was impossible to break through them. Then we began to include political reform in order to demolish and dismantle this system of command management.

By means of bringing to bear the force of law and legal influence on all of these processes, we brought them to bear and these processes took on such urgency that—and we all moved so quickly in that direction—that the economy, and this is clearly because it is more inert and more requiring to fundamentals and time, is lagging behind. And that is already a bad thing.

That is the understanding and that is the exactingness, and at this rostrum this exactingness could be heard just now. In all my conversations over the past two days so much has been said to me—for all that they have been very responsible and respectful conversations—and the level of exactingness has been high. The exactingness is at a high level. And all of this is the political process. The democratic process has unleashed discussions and people's thoughts. People have begun to think.

In general, now, when we have both become a little wiser, and in the main have acquired some experience—and we can see in what direction the processes should be

moved, when the people has now begun to bring fundamental pressure to bear, when we have adopted laws on the land, property, leasing, and the tax system—one has been passed and the other soon will be, and so on—a new system has been created in which we should make very resolute steps in our reform.

And so as to feel and to talk about these topics, we—the entire leadership, the entire leadership—are now essentially in permanent touch with the working people in all regions, and this along with the alarm bells that reach us from this region is the primary explanation for my coming here, comrades. From this point of view, I am glad that I came at this time, this very time. And that I came here, where there is someone to consult with. Someone to consult with. The people of the Urals and Sverdlovsk are an earnest people and highly competent. People that is, to put it bluntly, committed to their civic positions. It is on the move. I saw slogans here today as I was coming in. I read them. And then I asked—since I have read them, I said, (?can I miss it out, so as to save effort). Particularly since there is nothing there that is new to me.

But all that this demonstrates is that the whole of public life is on the move; human thought is on the move. And that means that there is an interest, an interest has been sparked off—a fundamental interest on the part of the people, of all the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, scientific workers, pensioniers, young people—everybody. Men and women. I shall continue this section of the conversation, since I understand that you want me to answer questions first of all—or should I answer your questions later? Later, yes? Very well.

In that case, I'll move on and just glance at my notes. Well, if I can speak about my meeting yesterday and today. They were very thorough conversations. A year ago I was forever having meetings. And indeed I was at the Izhora works at the start of this year, I think—wasn't I? Or was it December? Yes, December—I no longer remember the last place I visited! I had one sort of conversation then. But now at Uralmash yesterday, I was aware of a totally different train of thought, totally different concepts and categories.

I don't know whether you heard the whole of that conversation or not, but I was over the moon! The Uralmash folks really soundly reflect on how they must live in the conditions of the market, of which they are categorically in favor. But at the same time they raised many issues that must be mulled over at the center—and mulled over very earnestly. But by now the converation was totally different. Of course, I was aware of something else that I feel is very important: that the Uralmash people, when making firm demands of the center. The country's leadership, and particularly those who are connected with reforming the economy, and when drawing attention to the processes that are taking place here in the Urals, approach things from very sensible standpoints.

I want to say this not just to you and all Sverdlovsk people, but to some extent this will, presumably, be broadcast to the whole country, and I want to say to the country that I am satisfied over the fact that people here display not a freeloading sentiment, but rather a constructive approach. In fact, people are calling the tune. They realize that the issue at stake is not that there must be a redistribution—even though that is only fair. Since the Urals provide a lot, the country ought to respond to what it provides. I consider that only fair. And that goes for any economy, but all the more so if you add to that the socialist morals. Nevertheless... nevertheless, it impressed me that the Ural people are all asking for oxygen. Give us the space to show initiative and enterprise both within the country and when we gain access abroad! We are prepared to assume this sort of responsibility in order to resolve—on the basis of this initiative and by increasing our enterprise—the many matters that have accumulated here. I should like to welcome this very much, because this is the perfectly correct approach. This testifies to the people's knowledge and competence—not just on the part of those in charge of the economy but of everyone—the academics, workers and the intellectuals. This is of great importance, comrades. And we must think about this.

One should think about this for yet another reason. I already spoke when I met scientists and I asked them to tackle this in a fundamental manner. After all, when now we think about the Urals, we, no doubt, recall the entire history of our homeland and the contribution made by this region and people and all the generations who have lived and created here and who are working here today, too, continuing the cause of their predecessors. After all, this is a region which is the mainstay of the country, both from the point of view of its industrial power, economic power, scientific power, and defense power. But it has happened so that, in one case, under the force of circumstances and, in another case, as a result of thoughtlessness and simply mismanagement in the economic investment policy in relation to...[changes thought] following, perhaps, a wrong choice of strategy for the reg'on's development it has happened so that a lot has been taken from the Urals in order to solve tasks and, reviewing only the latest times, to forge and gain this victory, to restore the ruined economy during the postwar rebirth, and now in order to solve the problem of parity and to retain the results of the victory. All this was done with an enormous contribution from residents of the Urals and Sverdlovsk. In this connection I, too, subscribe to the words addressed to the veterans who represent here all the preceding generations, to whom we all who live and think about how to ennoble our society and to move it forward, in a progressive direction, are obliged today. And we are cordially greeting them here with us. I think they have the right to be here, [applause] to look at what we and you are thinking and discussing and how we are going to solve things. They are fully entitled to that because this is their land, labor, their blood and sweat, this is their life. [unidentified women says: "(?They could participate, too)]

Yes, that is precisely what I say: participate, too.

It transpires, then, that, in the course of all this, serious deformations have been permitted in the development of the Urals area, from the viewpoint that there is a huge concentration here of defense, heavy, and chemical industries. And this has ecological implications. But the main disproportion and faults that have arisen here have to do with the backwardness in the social sphere. We must consider how, by getting the center and the Urals folks themselves to pull together, we might rectify the situation along the lines the Urals people are themselves suggesting. I think that this is the main idea: to give people more opportunities to develop. That is the first and most important conclusion I draw because, coincidentally, we are at the stage of drafting and adopting very important decisions. That is the first point.

The second point. I see that many people are worried: What is all this? Acceleration and radicalization of economic reform and a switch to a market system. They want to understand this. Particularly since the press has already raised many fears on this account, without waiting for the government, the Presidential Council and the center to draw up approaches to the way in which we will achieve this transition. I must say, comrades: Yes, indeed, we had intended to approach this a little later and in calmer fashion. But we looked to see the way in which the processes had been developing in the three or four months since the government program reported by Comrade Ryzhkov was approved. We could see that the negative trends—far from waning—are in fact waxing. We cannot wait. Even now we must start thinking about what we are intending for 1992 and 1993, and as early as this year we must do something, largely to expand the work involved in the transition to a market system as of next year. But it will not be the shock therapy floated by our press. Everything will not be left to its own devices for the market to regulate all prices, raise all issues, and consider them. That would be ridiculous. In the first place, even Poland has not done this—even though shock tactics are being employed. With all its complexities, its size and scale, we in our state cannot act in this fashion—Even though we are resolute in our own minds. Therefore, proposals are being prepared with a view to improving our finances and the consumer market, and acting more resolutely toward this. But at the same time we must adopt a whole package of decisions, without which market-based relations cannot develop, and without which a milieu suitable for the development of the economic independence of enterprises and regions cannot be formed. Therefore, there will be many decisions connected with and affecting all the tools of the market—on banks, taxation, the credit system and much else—antimonopolistic legislation, and of course on wholesale, purchase, and retail prices, and so on. All this will be thought through; the phases will be arranged; and the main thing is that, once we settle on particular options, they must be put to society so that labor collectives and regions might discuss them. To this end draft laws, proposed new prices, documents etc. will be submited. And there is something else. It is often said: Ah, another urge! The marketplace again! Again something new!

Oh no, comrades! We have been heading toward this and still are. The only thing is that now we want to step up the pace. But not for the sake of the marketplace, but because the situation within the economy—and particularly in the consumer market—is being wrenched from our grasp, so to speak, and we must not let go of it! We must act now, with skill and knowledge of what is what so that the situation and the conditions might change.

People wonder what is in it for them. The most important thing is in it for them, comrades! We must allow people to work with initiative. Then much will accrue to them. No developed country in the world has ever known such a spendthrift attitude or such squandering of resources as this country! In terms of units of national income, too, we...[changes thought] ours is an economy oriented on expenditure. The same with energy, and the same with labor.

Mechanisms are therefore required which would bring into operation people's initiative, and through this search will start...[changes thought] a mechanism for strengthening scientific and technical progress will be given an impetus and set in motion. So far now, though, rejection is evident. Moreover, the money needed for renovating assets and for technical progress are being pumped over to labor incentive funds and social funds, entering the market and aggravating that gap between goods, between the volume of commodities and the volume of money that is circulating now. Look at what is happening. Earlier, before 1988, we had a maximum of R10 to 12 billion of commodity growth a year. In 1988, the commodity growth was over R24 billion, that is, commodity circulation. Last year it amounted to nearly R35 billion. [words indistinct]

There is nothing, it has even become worse, worse. In other words, the market is bursting at the seams. Therefore, we want it not for the market but we want to come to the market and normal relations through initiative to give impetus to people's initiative and technical progress and to attain new economic results and, conseqently, new possibilities for solving social problems. Hence, the main thing is that the market is to serve man; man is not going to be sacrificed to some achievements in the market. Therefore, if this is so, if people's interests are, after all, at the center, then the interests of the needy strata, retirees, those on low pay, first of all, students and so on, should be protected. On the whole the issues of compensation should be thought out in such a way that the people are protected, in general. This is the first thing—the protective mechanism.

The second thing: Regrouping and redistribution of the workforce will start. There is a need for an appropriate system, there is a need for benefits for those temporarily unemployed while they are being retrained, free retraining courses—everything should be done. We have

a lot of work, comrades. Keep in mind that in the developed countries the ratio between the material sphere [as heard] is 50 to 50 percent in terms of the use of workforce, and in some countries as many as 75 percent work in the service sector and only 25 percent in the material sphere. But with us everything is the other way around: 75 percent in the material sphere. And what about services? Try to find them in our country. And even now, although cooperatives and individual labor activity have appeared, try to find these services! So we here have a vast area of work. The benefits that national income gives to an individual, they will require the [word indistinct] changes if one has to help the individual. Such a system should be set up. Finally, we must simply—let us touch upon prices—we must keep staple food items under control. This precisely will be a system of state regulation including the mechanisms of controlling the prices for basic goods and including the mechanisms of social protection, compensation, indexation, and so on and so forth. So there is a good deal of work and we and you have to discuss it and to come to an agreement because the things that we will tackle are all very serious. This is a totally different economy and totally different relations. This is very serious. And therefore the way that was done in Lithuania where they got together at night, had a sitting, raised their hands—and Lithuania is outside the Soviet Union. Neither Lithuanians, the Lithuanian people nor the Soviet Union know about that.

That is swashbuckling, not politics! That is my answer to many of the questions that are being asked here. We will tackle it in a very responsible manner, having drawn up a plan, and discussed it with you. Just as we promised: That when we get to this stage, we will discuss all this and decide all this together with you. For this reason, I particularly wanted to devote rather more attention to this matter, so that there should be no need for you to feel concerned on this score.

Once again I have been made aware of the very topical problem of conversion here in your region. And this was particularly so during my meeting with the machine-builders in your defense industry works. A splendid enterprise! Splendid! It turns out—the director told me—that for as long as it was closed to foreigners, Philips did not want to enter into contracts, considering all this unworthy of their attention—the assets and the potential which the collective had at its disposal. But when they came—and this is testimony to their decency—they apologized. Once they met the people, talked to the engineers and the workers, once they saw their competence, once they saw their assets, once they saw their conditions. And now very interesting things are afoot there. It is hard for the collective at the moment—difficult in the financial sense. But the things going on there will completely change the balance of its defense and civilian output. At present the ratio is 67:33 or 63:37; it will becom 37:63. There are very interesting manufactured goods which will grace any market.

There are many defense enterprises in this Urals area which have the workforce potential, a competent working class, good design offices, engineers, and progressive assets. I believe we must husband this national wealth of ours very intelligently. For these collectives are at least 10 years ahead of others. I believe we committed errors at the first stage, when we were engaged in these issues. Now that we have realized that you cannot just casually decide as part of conversion to manufacture a saucepan instead of the complicated unit or machine that our defense workers had been making—that is nonsense. In the first place, we will destroy all that had been built up, whereas we must make use of it in order to manufacture complicated but necessary articles for civilian society—good consumer goods, or articles for science, and so on and so forth. Generally speaking, then, great opportunities are opening up to us, and I believe this to be a great reserve in ensuring that your industrial complex turns toward tackling human issues.

Of course, I am very well aware—indeed I have been asked the question point-blank: Do I believe that the housing problem can be solved by the year 2000? This is a problem that has been discussed everywhere. Questions have been asked on the subject of individual construction, on the allocation of land, credit, housing cooperatives, on how the state will stimulate the development of construction facilities, and so on. Generally speaking, I tell you straight: I am very pleased with this conversation. I shall publicly share with you the fact that of late—for approximately a month—I have been working on just such a topic, which I want to put to the Presidential Council, for it to put to, to entrust our government with expending the scale of our housing construction. We need a new policy on housing. We must embark on new approaches.

We must yet review our investment policy and the distribution of capital investment. We must readdress the subject of facilities for housing construction and the entire complex that is bound up here. Untie their hands; provide the land and the opportunity; since there is uncommitted money at the enterprises. They could meet their workforce halfway and grant them interest-free loans, just as some enterprises and collective farms have long been doing.

I believe we will have done the right thing if this issue is kept at the center of attention now as we move toward a market economy. Incidentally, this will include the monetary savings of people who have saved up and who are willing to invest them in their homes. Those who have savings. As for those who do not have the money, either the state—in the cases of servicemen, pensioners, teachers, and doctors who are paid from the budget, so to speak—should act and come to their assistance, and in other instances it should be enterprises.

In short, everything must be utilized. We should not be afraid of freedom of approach, so to speak. A housing market should be created. To this end I asked a question yesterday at Uralmash: tell me, I said, are the Uralmash

people who have received adequate housing in the past say 10-15 years, who have plenty of everything, good enough conditions—in short who do not need housing—let us give them their homes to own. After all, it is their homes. What does state mean? What does it mean, received from the state? We don't give people enough in their pay packets, so they get housing! What's clever about that?

In the West, this is done in the following way: one gets a salary of $2,000 for example. Once you have got $2,000, you immediate have to give 25-30 percent to pay for the house, 11-13 percent to pay tax, and the individual seems to get a big salary; whereas we contribute to various funds and some things are free. In the end, people stop counting. And they say: What is the problem. The state should provide us with this, but this is not available, so give me my salary then. But what is there to do with that salary? But I think that if we acted like that, housing would be in a better shape here and a market would open up: if housing becomes property, then when someone's family has changed in number, people could strike a deal and swap, even with additional payment. This is, so to speak, already the problem of incorporating all these mechanisms. But comrades, one has to end with this inert situation, you see, when there are continuous demands to be given this or that.

Instead, the whole of society should be engaged in housing construction. I have been thinking about this, and I want to tackle the field in the near future, and I see my role as president in giving more impetus to the housing problem. It has started moving. We will gain a year in this five-year-plan in terms of housing, in terms of square meters, but this is not enough. Therefore, when I am asked whether the task we have set for the year 2000 is realistic, I say it is realistic provided we continue working and increasing the pace of housing construction, but if we sit with arms folded and everyone only screaming about how to live, including directors who will complain about not receiving capacities or contracts and so on, then, of course, we will move very slowly. Once again we have to break our psychology. I have felt that the housing issue is very acute here, and I think that given the potential at the disposal of the Urals, a lot can be done to meet the working people halfway and to get things moving, to speed up the solution of these issues.

An issue was touched upon here, both in the speech of the chairman of your oblast soviet and in the speech, I think, of Academician Mesyats, only I do not remember where he said that, either in the center when we met or here—the food issue. I have said, and will stress it now: It seems the Urals will not be able to do without (?support) from the center. The concentration of industrial potential and, consequently, of people not linked with the village, is high here. And, perhaps, it is difficult without support. But I must say that we cannot, and I cannot ever agree—and I used to say this to comrades both from your oblast and from Chelyabinsk, five and even ten years ago, when I dealt with these issues in the Central Committee—that given such a powerful industry, given such a construction base, and considering the fact that metal and construction materials, everything is available here, so to speak, the village should be in such a condition. Some say: What can we do, we cannot jump over the center and plans, our heads will roll. Maybe this is right; the system did not allow one to move, so to speak, but, all the same, I think that the following approach was in evidence—I felt it, heard it, and this argument was presented to me when I put these questions to comrades: We are blacksmiths, we are from the Urals, we are the industry and the other should feed us. We give everything to the others and let the others feed us. This is a wrong way of putting the question. I agree that the state must support people of the Urals, and in the current strained situation we see to it that deliveries are fulfilled to Sverdlovsk and Chelyabinsk, although sometimes faults occur here. But it is impermissible that here, on this soil, where there are 0.3 hectares of ploughed land per capita...[changes thought] And this is a typical norm of land in all Western European countries, and there they provide themselves with products and even market them. And that such a worn out agriculture should be side by side with such a powerful industrial base! Land should be given to town residents.

That is also a short cut toward having orchards and gardens and enabling people themselves, without delay, in the next year or two to do a lot. For while farms get together, come to an agreement about it, while they come to a conclusion about what to do, time is flying and one must live.

That is why, comrades, we must have a good harvest here, good milk yields, and things will change. That is to say, the land as a resource here can be used. It is a large resource here and, combined with such industrial resources, results to the food question can improve.

What is being planned—I see there that the Russian government has met Sverdlovsk halfway, for it is intended to increase meat production in the near future, to build accomodation for fattening. I asked: Will you be increasing the harvest of fodder crops and how will you do it? No, they, say, the Russian government will provide. Well, if the Russian government made that promise, I welcome that and I am all for it. But, comrades, let me see you gradually build up the yield of the fields, too, the yield of the fields, too, the yield of the fields, too. This won't do. You will say, we have been laboring under three years of drought and we are supposed to turn out an even greater yield. Well, be that as it may, but one must think and act to ensure that the countryside produces, a yield.

If you and we tackle all these questions, starting from the fact that we accept the concerns and the requests and the demands of the people of the Urals to give them more economic freedom and at the same time you act, displaying initiative in all these areas, I am telling you that in the near future there can be very appreciable changes in all respects on this land.

But this is a job of a special class, of responsibility. Here we must understand one another, and act.

Someone correctly said yesterday, many workers spoke: Well, how come that we have all been engaging in staging rallies, have been arguing here, have been discussing alternative candidates and alternative platforms, but, we said, we have forgotten that we must work; teams should be competing for the best indices and they should be advancing technical progress; the entire intellect has been channelled into this aspect; but, in the final analysis, it is there, at the base, that everything should be resolved and take place.

I, comrades, am, pleased with having had such very serious conversations here with people from the Urals.

Well, what can I say further about what is worrying people—and there are many notes here—and my intention was to touch on this situation of the party's affairs. And, comrades, in order that perestroyka may succeed, in order for us to cope with the tasks of renewing and reforming our society, a reformed and renewed party, too, should be working in this reformed and renewed society. This is a Leninist, a Leninist approach: Life is changing, conditions are changing, stages and tasks are changing, society is passing from one stage into another, and the role, forms, and methods of the party's activity are changing, too. That is why, if someone wants to accuse us of engaging in revisionist affairs and of destroying what has been created by the Bolsheviks during decades, I must say that he does not understand Bolshevism, Leninism, and simply life.

The party is going through difficult times. All this is understandable, because the party was the core of the command administrative system. It was the political mechanism assembled into this system. What is more, it must be said that this was not simply a mechanism, it was the nerves of this administrative command system. And this yielded its results at certain stages and has completely exhausted itself now and exhausted itself a long time ago. What is more, this is holding everything as if in fetters. That is why the administrative system must be abandoned and so the party's role, too, must be changed and it must have returned to it its natural, primordial role as a political vanguard as conceived by Lenin. This is precisely how he saw the new type of party, not a party of the parliamentary type, fighting only for seats in parliament—this is, by the way, one of the central differences with the democratic platform—but as a party, which is a political vanguard, a vanguard force, and that is why the party, in reforming itself, does not go away; in reforming itself it is not abandoning a single sphere and will propose to society its program aims and put forward its program documents, will campaign for them and will work among the masses everywhere, everywhere, in order to advance perestroyka and support our socialist choice and to open a broad road for the renewal of society.

That is why, the unfortunate drama is in this, that everything good that was done in this command system is connected with the party, and everything that was deformed, everything that was tragic, dramatic, is also being connected with the party. And some people, making use of this, forget that everything that we started from under the party's leadership, everything that we have arrived at, what country we have, they want to cross this out as though the 72 years had never existed; and as though generation of Soviet people had not lived, had not done things, had not suffered and had not built this country by means of their suffering, and had not created what enables us to set such great aims and tasks; they want to focus on everything that is negative and tragic, and erase this.

I think that we must be honest and truthful. We must proclaim everything that the party has done and give it its due, continuing and following, after the October Revolution, these choices. But, at the same time, we must honestly say that Lenin's last hopes, behests and advice in the sense of moving towards a socialist society have not been fulfilled. Much has been deformed and distorted and the party itself, too, has endured this blow. And the drama lies precisely herein. People are very much holding us responsible for a great deal. Only a strong party can pose the issue as follows: Its entire past must be assessed from party, honest positions; everything that has been done must be assessed truly, without spitting—as they want to suggest to us—either on the labor or the exploits and sufferings of previous generations. This is history. To say at the same time, honestly and firmly, that society must reform and the party must be renewed decisively. This is precisely what we are doing now.

And so it was shaped, since there was a single set of methods, since the party took on itself all functions of operational government, that is how cadres were formed, that is how party organizations functioned; everything, from the primary organizations to the party's Central Committee. And now, when the distribution of labor is in progress, when the local soviets are gathering strength, when they are assuming new functions and duties and responbility, when other institutions are beginning to function, and in particular, the economy is receiving its legitimate rights on the basis of newly adopted legislative acts, the party is with difficulty looking for its new role in this society, and, above all, our cadres who have come from specific sections of economic work, are taking matters very much to heart. Now a new style, a new method and new thinking, a new manner of approach toward evaluating phenomena are required. Well here, so to speak, are all the painful processes. This must be understood, comrades. We must live through this. But I will never agree with those, who at this stage of in-depth perestroyka, when we are clearing with a big bulldozer, when we are shovelling away everything that happened here and has occurred, [are demanding] that we should go the way of again starting a witch-hunt and starting to look for enemies and then even recalling the forms and

methods of fighting enemies. And in some places such things are already being advocated.

It will be a tragedy if, having set such noble goals for the renewal of our society upon humane principles and within the framework of democracy and glasnost, we begin to move towards this humane goal by acting, you understand, like a bull in a china shop. For then we will do so many bad things in this country and processes of such a kind will develop. Yet some people really have a paranoia, a complex, you understand, they have a kind of pyromania. I remember one state farm in the Stavropol Kray where there was a fire every day for a month. What was happening? We couldn't find it. Everything was thrown into the search and suddenly they caught one man, he was setting fire to a haystack and then putting it out with them and celebrating. He was mentally ill, with paranoia.

We do not need these paranoiacs in politics and in the party. We need people who are very responsible, dedicated to the idea of socialism, close to the people, resolute, resolute, in order that everything that has accumulated...[Gorbachev changes thought] We need this to put an end to all the private empires, and all the privileges, too, except those that have been or will be legally established, insofar as all of this is currently being reviewed. All of this needs to be done in order for the law, and not lawlessness, to triumph, comrades. We already have such people, the more so, the more so as I'm going along and they ask: "Gdlyan and Ivanov: who's next?" Meaning that they are unhappy with the way this topic was discussed at the Supreme Soviet. Yet it was discussed within a constitutional framework. Moreover, since this concerned top people in the judicial bodies and those of the procuracy, and on top of that since it was also turning out that there were people involved in these crimes from the top levels of power, we then said let the Supreme Soviet, the deputies, look into it, because this is all very serious.

You know a lot of speculation is taking place in our country, speculation with people's discontent, with the fact that problems are unresolved. Hence the populism. Whoever bashes the top leadership, and especially Gorbachev, the president, the hardest—do excuse me for using such a crude expression—he is our man. And there are people who encourage this. There is speculation of the following kind: All those individuals who have now been in the leadership over the past few decades should be removed. Incidentally the revolution also began with this kind of thing, but afterwards they began to bring in military commanders and experts and so on.

Dear comrades! The law must triumph! The criminal must be where he is supposed to be. The lout must be assessed by democratic means and removed. And so on and so forth. The incompetent person, too, through democratic processes, through democracy, through the law, through responsibility. That is how it has to be. Otherwise we will never climb out of the things that you and I together have gone through.

Not everything comes off here, as in our country, and the observations that are made on this account are correct, including those made against me. Comrades remind me that sometimes one has to be tougher towards those who have transgressed the moral code. Where the law has been transgressed it is all clear, let the procuracy and the court act. I think that this applies to all party bodies from the bottom to the top. But our democratic approaches, principles and the law must triumph, and not lawlessness and not wantonness, you understand. But saying to the sound of marching feet, let's start tearing off heads or something like that, by doing that we will ruin everything and ruin the country.

But using these processes is difficult, it is more difficult in fact.

But this is how one must proceed. When I am told, give a command to hit the headquarters, I say that we have given you the legal prerequisites and democracy; you decide, make your choice and, if necessary, make people redundant and put more competent ones in and put them forward on an alternative basis. After all, elections are now, on the whole, based on this alternative basis everywhere. Moreover, debates go on sometimes for 10, 20, 30 days and so on. Not always, is that so? Well, I mean, well, probably this is not always the case. I do not insist that this is precisely the case everywhere. You might say that this alternative basis is, again, not, as it were, what you wanted. You know, I want this, but the majority came out for, well, that is what democracy is all about. Prove that you are right, that your viewpoint is correct, do prove this and raise and resolve issues through the democratic mechanisms. Comrades, I do urge you to reflect a bit on this part of our conversation, all this is very important, all this is very important.

That is why, to come back to the subject, it is, after all, the party that ought to initiate approaches of this kind. I think that already at this stage communists are, as it were, coming out of the shock and of the trenches, they are beginning to act. At the same time, I am aware of the disillusionment among communists. Some communists are leaving the party. Well, it is a pity when people who are of no use and who actually joined the party for reasons of their own leave the party. But I am very worried—and there have been notes here on this score—by good people leaving the party, its organizations and ranks.

I think they must be heard and this is very much the case even when they leave, for it is necessary for communists to be told what the matter is. This is so that every move of this kind, especially on the part of an honest and good communist, should, let me tell you, be not just a mechanical event. Communists must be unstinting in their time to this end. This is, perhaps, the main thing today. We must preserve everything that is honest in the party, have our congress and take decisions that are necessary for us; and the extent of the criticism and activeness in which all these documents are being prepared makes it possible to

hope that we will eventually have the necessary documents adopted. And if account is taken of the fact that the delegates are elected by the communists themselves, directly from the grassroots, then this means that we will get a corps of deputies that will have an independent position and decide things. That is to say, we will have not the apparatus games, as it is customary to see it, but the power of the party masses which will be present at the congress.

That is why we proceed in the correct direction. You can tell me—having collected examples, each in one's own organization—that things are not going quite as they should in some place or other. If only all this were, or looked like giving a go ahead to a system within automatic production and everything is running, in cycles, as it were, 48 operations and 48 instruments and the feed comes from somewhere and, of course, no, it is all of us and each one of us and in order for something to take the correct direction in our country many instruments should exert influence on us, while we ourselves ought to reflect on many things, too. One should not simplify things along the lines that one will blindly follow what one has been told from above.

We will go through the pre-congress campaign and discussion and through the congress, and I am confident that we will acquire new strength and potential and that the party will discharge its role as political vanguard. To this end it must do a great deal in theoretical and ideological work alike, and especially in the style and methods of work and in creating a democratic environment at every level in the party, so that people, communists, feel they are in charge in their organizations. I think that this will take place and this is exactly what will happen.

One more topic: The new soviets are now beginning their work. The reaction to the new soviets, the election results, the corps of deputies, in the republics, the local, town, oblast, kray, and rayon are not unequivocal among the people. People are, for instance, worried by the fact that the first days of work of many soviets suddenly turned into peculiar meetings, demonstrations and disputes on procedural questions, and this alarmed people.

What is this? An extension of the mass meetings? When and where are our elected deputies going to deal with specific matters?

I think, comrades, let's not dramatize things. Very many new people have come in, people who are not experienced in politics and the practice of the work. They must, they now still have to perceive what lies upon their shoulders. But at the same time it is possible to expect new ideas and proposals from this new body, too.

I would therefore think as follows: that the work of the soviets must be monitored, which is the proper thing for the voters and the people to do, both at the upper echelons of power and especially at the local ones; and they must also be helped and supported in their correct and necessary initiatives. Let us think about consolidation, about work, particularly as the soviets are now receiving good reinforcements in the form of rights and allocations according to norms which they receive at their disposal.

I think, too, that what we have decided on the pay of those who work for the soviets, which is being critizised and which the whole time [changes thought] and someone said here or expressed the view at the session at the institute that, Mikhail Sergeyevich, it would be a good idea if you now set about revoking what was adopted, meaning the decision to raise the pay of those working for the soviets and the party. I do not intend to do that, comrades, I'll tell you absolutely frankly and I'll tell you why, I'll give my reasons for this.

It is a fact that we have found ourselves in a situation where we have not been able to get the best people for the party apparatus, and not just for the party apparatus, for leading appointments in the party, for positions of secretary—people who have enjoyed real authority in some particular region or other. This has already been heard throught the whole party. Our rate of pay for a city committee secretary was R200, 300 or 350, whereas a miner in the smallest mining settlement where a secretary has to be elected from that environment, the minor receives R600, 700 and more. But we want him to be an authoritative secretary, a well-educated one, capable of working with people. From the moral point of view, how many demands do we make, as if we were dealing with a god? Where do you find such a person? We must invite someone who is trusted by all the communists. That means we have to [changes thought] evidently we cannot leave things in such a way that by leaving, by changing his work, his pay is reduced by a half or by a third. That's the first thing. In exactly the same way, the apparatus needs to conduct a dialogue with the working people, with the various movements, it needs contact, it needs to discuss problems. These are different people. This is a different type of competence, a different kind of education. Hence one has to invite these people.

But even in solving this we acted as follows: We reduced the party apparatus of the Central Committee, those of the central committees of the Union republics, the city committees and kray committees and released—the only ones we didn't touch were the rayon committees—and the money that had been released we used to raise pay. The rural secretary used to receive pay at the same level as the manager of a department on a state farm, R300 to 350. Now he is going to be paid at the same level as the leader of a medium-sized collective or state farm, and he is already being paid at that level. I consider that we acted properly, especially since it has been done through savings. That is the first thing. The second thing is this. The soviets. Everything now is going over to the soviets. They must take upon themselves everything that was done by the party apparatus within its competence. Specialists are needed there, knowledgeable ones, too, people whom the people trust to get on with the job, upon whom the soviet can rely. Otherwise it will indeed

be just one mass meeting, nothing beyond sittings. But work has to be done after the sitting. Once the decision has been taken the work has to be done. [applause] So worthwhile people have to be taken up and invited to work for the soviets, people who have our trust and upon whose competence one can rely. But who will you get for R180? For 150 or 120? So I am convinced, comrades, that we acted correctly.

I admit: Thrice I was subjected to public criticism for the fact that we are not solving this issue. I was, as it were, holding this issue in check as much as possible, but, all the same, I came to understand that now that we are heading for this kind of distribution of functions, it was necessary to embark on this solution. I do not know whether or not I convinced you, but I do not change my position.

What other, second danger emerged, about which one should speak and warn our new soviets? Suppose a rayon or a town soviet assembles and decides upon an issue as though it were the USSR Supreme Soviet. No, comrades: there is the Supreme Soviet, there is the Congress of People's Deputies, there is the president, there is the government, and each has a remit of its own. There are supreme soviets at the republican, oblast and town levels. Be disciplined, then, in this respect. No one is entitled to violate the Constitution. As president, I will decisively intervene in cases where people try to arrogate to themselves the powers to which they have no constitutional right. Make decisions within the framework of your remit. You say you are not satisfied with your powers and that it is necessary to broaden something and resolve it? Please go ahead and put it on the agenda, as is your right. We now have a democratic process and it is underway. We think everything over: how to do things, what structures ought to exist and how they ought to function—but not in the way it was done in Leningrad, where they gathered round and went ahead and seized a radio studio, what a decision. And in Lvov they took a decision on churches; and it was outside of their remit in both cases. Decisions such as these will be resolutely revoked and we shall have very serious talks with any deputy or soviet. Show boundless initiative, each of you, and act - within the limits of your remit.

Many comrades ask about Lithuania. Many notes are to hand, too. This means the questions are about our federation, too. They also ask about Russia and the Russian Communist Party. All in all, I will, most likely, conclude my speech by answering practically most questions and those who put the questions understand and feel it—it is, perhaps, the case that we all live in a most, a very complex world as far as the human dimension is concerned—I am speaking of our multinational state. Comrades, we all ought to understand it well. We used to think that these were issues that were solved and that, strictly speaking, one was able not to have, as it were, to deal with them in any special way. Let me tell you straight: During the first stages of perestroyka, your humble servant was of the opinion that there were no major problems here. This is how we all have been brought up. We did deal with other problems, the ones that were glaring, the ones that were knocking at the door and on the window and there were many of these.

However, the process of re-birth, national re-birth and national dignity, got underway very fast in the conditions of democracy and glasnost. I must say that in this respect our federation and our Union are undergoing a renaissance of sorts. This epoc, which, in principle, is of great positive significance—and this is how, as a process, it must be assessed, since quite a few problems have piled up and we have lost a great deal here, and there is much concern in the area of inter-ethnic relations—has thrown up much of what currently creates great difficulties for us, separatism and nationalism above all. In some places attempts are made to turn this from the sphere of reflections into the sphere of policy and practice, and this has led to the fact that we have already encountered exacerbation of interethnic relations and interethnic conflicts in many regions.

Some say: Let this empire collapse! Others say: What are Gorbachev and the entire leadership looking to? Everybody ought to have been put in their place long since, and order ought to have been established with an iron fist. Comrades, neither is in keeping with serious policy.

As a Russian, and as a Soviet citizen and a political figure alike, I cannot conceive that we should stick to such extreme approaches. In all our peoples and especially in the Russian people—we all have inherited it in our genes—that for centuries we had proceeded towards this huge world we call the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. [sentence as heard] After all, it is not something that took shape as a result of fire and sword, but all the peoples have traversed a great historical path, although a lot of things did happen, a great deal was done on this soil and many people did preserve their identity, their languages, cultures, and history because they joined forces, pooled their resources, joined their own forces and moved forward. It is a mighty state and today it is a strong power which determines the world's destiny.

I don't think it is just all of us who live in this country, everyone, all those who think sensibly, but also all those who are around us, who feel keenly and want us, on the path of harmonizing interethnic relations, to preserve this state, to multiply and bring out its potential and ennoble this variegated world in human terms. All representatives of the federations that exist in the world have turned to me as president with a view to our finding ways of resolving and preserving the integrity of our federation, all, down to the last president, because similar processes are taking place there or are not. Canada has Quebec. There is Kashmir in India. There is Slovakia in Czechoslovakia, just now. You know about Yugoslavia, and Slovenia, particularly, very similar, so to speak. And so on and so forth. And at the same time the world tendency is such that Western Europe is moving from the economy towards the formation of political supra-national institutions, from simply cooperation and the market, it is moving through those toward

confederation and then toward federation. And when a group of prominent political figures, former prime ministers and presidents were talking with me a year ago, Giscard d'Estaing, talking to me, said Mr. President, you in the Soviet Union must prepare to deal with the federation of Western Europe. Because that is how the processes are taking place—the economic, scientific and technical and global challenges require efforts to be united. Such, therefore, is the logic, in favor of our policy, I believe.

We have to bring out the potential of the federation. We have not lived in a federation; it has been a powerful, unitary state where not only were all these (?state and autonomous) formations of ours, so to speak, not able to breathe very freely but where it was sometimes forbidden to speak out, and anyone who did speak out immediately found himself, so to speak, in a state of being smothered. Hence we are open to these deep changes, and this must strengthen our Union and give it a new cohesion, a new character of relations and cooperation. If, nevertheless, someone gets the idea, and if that is the choice of some particular people, that they should secede from the Soviet Union, we have adopted a law on the mechanism for resolving this, too, within the framework of the constitutional process. A number of years will be required for this. Because all of this is very difficult, comrades. Everything in our country is so intertwined at the human level, at the economic level, as regards defense, the borders, science and technology, territory. Take Lithuania. It would appear that the advantage is with the Lithuanian people and that it could be done easiest of all there. No doubt this is what they were proceeding from. But none of this is a serious argument and we tried to explain—you remember my visit to Lithuania, among other comrades. They did not respond, comrades.

Now we have an impasse which we are trying to find a way out of. Nevertheless, we intend to resolve it by political methods. But to this end we expect right thinking. There must be a return to the situation of 10 November [corrects himself] March. This means as part of the Soviet Union. We have not been given another mandate. There is the decision of the Congress. After this we must ask the Lithuanian people and the peoples, the nationalities who live there. Let them say where they stand, hold a referendum. And if they decide to secede, a process of dovetailing interests and balancing out must be started and then we must do all this in a normal way. There is no other way.

It was asked here—there was a note—many notes concerned Lithuania from various aspects. One note said: Perhaps the time has come to introduce presidential rule? Many such wishes, even demands, are being expressed. They are even putting it like this: Well, then, Mikhail Sergeyevich, we have given you presidential powers, but you are not acting, you are not using them. But I hope that, nevertheless, I accepted presidential powers and I intend to fulfill them with a feeling of responsibility, and not by playing at presidential power. The more so, in such a huge state as our country. And so, comrades we will follow the path of development and renewal of the federation. We have to reach such a position as regards the cultural, economic and political process, that the Union republics may fully act as sovereign states within the framework of a renewed Union, on the understanding that a proportion of the rights is deliberately and voluntarily given up to the center by them on an agreed basis, and this center creates those common legal, economic, and political prerequisites which make it possible for the process to develop normally.

I must say that the creation and the transition to the new stage, phase of the Union market, this will be something which we need and which will strengthen our federation even more.

Ryzhkov at Moscow Factory, Talks With Workers

LD2704141290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Video report by correspondent I. Minayev in Moscow on 26 April, from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Today, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov visited an enterprise in Leningradskiy Rayon in the capital.

[Minayev] [video shows textile machinery in operation] This is the Petr Alekseyev fine-cloth mill. One hundred and fifty years is, you will agree, a more than venerable age, and the burden of problems corresponds—outmoded equipment, a labor shortage. But even in these far from ideal conditions, the mill manages not to reduce the pace. One can sew more than 1 million coats from the cloth which is produced here in a year. And the cloth is not the worst. The experts say that is fully corresponds to international standards. Only this makes things no easier for the shopper. There is none of it in the shops. The state order is 100 percent. The cloth goes entirely to the clothing enterprises, and will not go into the trade network this year at all. Yetsenko, the mill director, believes that the time has come to form a concern whereby they themselves weave, sew, and sell. The conversation in the workshops was about the prospects for the enterprise and the branch, about unresolved social and communal problems, about the tough work conditions of the textile workers, and about the low pay. Judge for yourselves—given all the noise, dust, and vibration, the salary is R140. [video shows Ryzhkov with officia'ls visiting the textile mill, talking to workers]

[First woman] We have only 20 minutes for our break. And we do not have any cooks; they all have left for the cooperatives.

[First man] It is time to close down the cooperatives. First, all the cooperatives mean mere speculation.

[Second woman] Not all of them.

[First woman] Of course, they are not all like that.

[Ryzhkov, talking to workers] We are masters at opening and closing. There has been much closing and opening.

[First man] You committed an error with the cooperatives.

[Ryzhkov] I do not believe that we committed an error with the cooperatives. I do not believe that. I think that the mistake lies elsewhere. It was necessary to regulate this process better. We are setting up a tax inspectorate so that they check the tax statements. The cooperative worker is obliged to fill in a tax form, saying where he obtained things from, what he received, and what he sold them for, and he must pay taxes in the final analysis. This is simply our lack of economic sophistication. And there the cooperative member is walking about with a bag full of money. We do not need to close them. Closing them is the easiest thing to do. We must regulate things, so that we have normal cooperatives, normal cooperatives. We need normal cooperatives.

[Video cuts to an interview with Ryzhkov by correspondent Minayev. Ryzhkov is shown standing with his back to a stairway, talking to Minayev] [Ryzhkov] Concerning the issue of the transition to a planned market economy. You noticed that very many questions were being asked today at this factory, and not only at this factory. I feel that there is a lack of clarity about this matter. People are frightened. People are uninformed. People are using all manner of patchy data and rumors. And all this creates, in my opinion, a very, very nervous and abnormal situation. This will be published, first, when the work on these documents is finished [sentence as heard—documents not specified] We consider that we should finish the elaboration of those fundamental documents by May, by the middle of May. And then we will report to the Supreme Soviet.

[Minayev] In connection with the transition to new market economy relations, it probably will not be any easier for us. But in any case, the people should look at its prospects with open eyes, and should know what to expect.

[Ryzhkov] Yes, one should not think that the transition to market relations, and the new market relations will create an environment that is absolutely equal for all, that will create equal opportunities. There must be social protection for pensioners, there must be social protection for students, children, for the low-paid and for large families. For the second section of the population—those who work and have an opportunity to earn—it is necessary to create a system whereby they have under it a motivation to work, so that they are able to earn and then are able to use fully the money which is earned.

[Minayev] Today a meeting took place of the communists of Leningradskiy Rayon, Moscow. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov was nominated a candidate for delegate to the 28th Congress for the 4th Party Electoral Constituency. [video shows Ryzhkov being applauded at party election meeting]

Western Republics

Ukraine Drafts Bill on Economic Independence

LD3004141690 Kiev International Service in English 2330 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] The economic council of the Ukrainian (Soviet Socialist Republic) [SSR] submitted for a nationwide discussion a draft bill on economic independence of the Ukrainian SSR. The draft bill reads in part that the property of the people of the republic makes up an economic basis of state sovereignty of Ukraine. The territory of the republic cannot be changed and used without the consent of its people. The Ukrainian SSR through its bodies of power and managment realizes independently the economic running of the republic in strict compliance with the Constitution and legislation of the Ukrainian SSR.

Ukraine Plans New Nuclear Power Plant

LD2704120290 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] [Announcer] Following the Chernobyl incident, the term nuclear power plant has become odious in the Ukraine. People are deeply concerned over the existence of such stations. Here is a report from Kharkov. Our correspondent, Mykola Marynenko, is at the microphone:

[Marynenko] This news has literally stunned the inhabitants of Kharkov Oblast: Contrary to their wish, those on high are preparing once again to build an Nuclear Eectric Power Station there. But let us start right from the beginning.

In the beginning, those on high selected the site for the nuclear power plant near the settlement of (Birky). Residents of the oblast were aghast, because the site was located only several tens of kms from Kharkov itself. After many meetings and protests, after lengthy debates at various levels of power the construction was at last stopped, it seemed for good.

However, the Ministry of Atomic Power looked on things otherwise. A signal has arrived from Bliznyuko Rayon: the new nuclear power plant will be built there. The public has been stunned once again.

Radio Kiev has resolved to monitor this development and there will be sequels to this story.

Foreign Experts To Assess Chernobyl Effects

90UN1617A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 29 Mar 90 p 3

[Article by RATAU correspondent A. Trotsenko: "Chernobyl: New Approaches to Assessing the Consequences of the Nuclear Power Station Accident Are Necessary"]

[Text] At the invitation of the USSR Government, an international group of experts has arrived in our country

in order to discuss a plan for conducting an expert study of whether people can safely reside in areas contaminated as a result of the accident at the Chernobyl AES [Nuclear Power Station]. It is headed by Assistant to IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] Deputy General Director, Director of the Department of Nuclear Safety Morris Rosen. The delegation includes representatives of authoritative international organizations—the Commission of European Communities (CEC), Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), World Health Organization (WHO), International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), as well as leading specialists from Austria, England, the United States, and Japan. The group of experts visited the Ukraine between 25 and 27 March.

The guests had a meeting at the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers. K.I. Masik, deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, familiarized them with the progress of work to eliminate the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES in the Ukraine. Among other things, it was stressed that in the years since the catastrophe more than 90,000 people have been resettled from the affected rayons. This work is still under way. In the uncontaminated zone, 14 new villages are under construction. About 15,000 people will be resettled to them from Polesskiy and Narodichskiy Rayons as early as this year. Measures which made it possible to reduce the level of radiation by factors of between two and four in the affected areas were also discussed, as well as changing the production mix of agriculture. Other issues related to improving the living conditions and medical services to the population of these regions were also touched upon.

At the same time, it was noted that 1,450,000 people still reside in the zones affected by the AES accident. There are 5 million hectares of land contaminated by radiation in the republic, including 3.5 million hectares of agricultural land and 1.5 million hectares of forests. The Ukrainian SSR government, scientists and specialists, as well as the general public, question the 35-rem concept which was developed in its time by the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences and the USSR Ministry of Health. We badly need a real concept which guarantees the safety of the people.

The deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers expressed his confidence that the work of these highly competent foreign experts would be helpful in successfully solving problems associated with the Chernobyl misfortune.

The head of the group said that their work will consist of several stages and will take three to four months. At the first stage, which the current trip inaugurates, the tasks which the group is to accomplish will be determined. At the second stage, an international consultative committee will be set up. It will assume responsibility for observing the conduct of work. The well-known Japanese scientist, Shigomatsu, is expected to be appointed director. The third stage, in the course of which a chronology of all events which have occurred as a result of the Chernobyl accident is expected to be compiled, will be the most significant one. This will include work on establishing the clinical influence of nuclear radiation on human health, evaluation of the data collected by Soviet specialists, and their comparison with those of their foreign colleagues. A final report will be drawn up on the basis of the work done. This document will be submitted to the USSR Government, as well as to an international commission. As the head of the delegation sees it, it should also be published in the press.

Summing up the conversation, Morris Rosen said: "Our main goal is to determine what the exposure of the population to radiation was and to establish the health status of the populace at present. Only such an approach will make it possible to work out the measures whose implementation will ensure the safe residence of people in some of the regions affected by radiation."

Yu.N. Spizhenko, Ukrainian SSR minister of health, V.G. Baryakhtar, vice president of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, Yu.N. Shcherbak, chairman of the "Zeleniy Svit" Association, and others took part in the conversation.

Foreign experts visited the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences All-Union Research Center for Radiation Medicine and traveled to Polesskoye in Kiev Oblast. They visited a local hospital, an agricultural center, and met with the representatives of the public.

Despite the intensive program of their visit to the republic, foreign experts could not refuse to meet with the representatives of "Zeleniy Svit." A meeting which lasted several hours was held in the evening in the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health.

The familiarization stage of the visit of the group of foreign experts to the Ukraine ended with a trip to the city of Ovruch in Zhitomir Oblast. The group will continue its work in Belorussia.

'Thugs' Attack Lenin Monument in Kiev

LD2804094290 Moscow TASS in English 0822 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—A group of "thugs" took opportunity of an authorised rally in the Ukrainian capital Kiev on April 22, the birth anniversary of Soviet state founder Vladimir Lenin, to throw a barbed-wire garland at his monument and make anti-socialist statements, PRAVDA reported today.

It said the incident caused a public outcry and party locals at a number of factories protested against it in the local press, saying it insulted Lenin's memory.

The rally in the central thoroughfare, sponsored by such popular movements as "Green Light", the Chernobyl Alliance, "Rukh" [Ukrainian Movement for Restructuring] and "Memorial" and sanctioned by the city

council, was to be an environmentalist event. It developed, however, into something else.

"During the rally anti-Soviet and anti-socialist speeches were made," PRAVDA said. "As a demonstration started, a group of thugs marching under the slogans of a 'Ukrainian Socialist Youth Union' attempted to throw a kind of barbed-wire wreath first at the monument to Lenin and then at the monument to the Great October Revolution."

The paper said the city prosecutor started a criminal investigation into the incident.

Ukraine Party Will Not Surrender Monopoly

LD2704113590 Hamburg DPA in German 1011 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Lvov (DPA)—The Communist Party of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic is not prepared to give up its power monopoly to the new democratic forces in the West Ukrainian parliaments (soviets) without a transition period. The party chief of the Lvov region, Vyacheslav Sekretaryuk said this in an interview with DPA in Lvov. Sekretaryuk, who was unexpectedly appointed to the post only two weeks ago, firmly rejected replacing the monopoly of the party with a monopoly "of the other forces."

In Lvov and in other areas of the Western Ukraine, democratic groups are now dominating the regional parliaments. In the interview in Lvov, Sekretaryuk said that during a transition period a "strong party" should be maintained, which would cooperate with the new forces. In strong terms he criticized the Ukrainian people's movement Rukh, which is trying to oust the communists completely. [passage omitted]

Belorussia Decrees Chernobyl Memorial Day

90UN1514A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian No 15, 14 Apr 90 p 2

[Correspondent report: "We Will Remember This Day"]

[Text] Minsk—An edict of the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium has instituted Chernobyl Tragedy Day. Twenty-six April is to be a day of remembrance and a reminder of the need for constant concern and support for those who suffered as a result of the accident and for man's solicitous attitude toward the environment and his responsibility for the competent and professional use of the achievements of science and technology and for ensuring ecological safety.

It is proposed that the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers formulate measures connected with Chernobyl Tragedy Day geared to the unswerving fulfillment of the state program to eliminate the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES [Nuclear Electric Power Station].

At this time the Belorussian Republic Council of Trade Unions is receiving from all parts of Belorussia and the collectives of a multitude of enterprises proposals for the organization of a voluntary work day on Saturday, 21 April, V.I. Lenin's birthday, and for the money earned thereat to be sent to the fund for assistance to casualties of the accident at the Chernobyl AES.

The initiative has been supported by the Belorussian Council of Trade Unions.

New Belorussian Rayon for Chernobyl Victims

LD2804170290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0440 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Summary] Minsk, 28 April TASS—TASS correspondent Yuriy Bekhterev reports that a new rayon called Dribinskiy has appeared in Belorussia. It will be the home for families uprooted by the Chernobyl disaster.

Snegur Elected Moldavian Parliament Chairman

LD2704204290 Moscow TASS in English 2015 GMT 27 Apr 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Taki]

[Text] Kishinev April 27 TASS—The new composition of the parliament of Moldavia, a republic in the southwest of the USSR, today elected its chairman for a five-year term. Mircha Snegur was elected by 196 votes, with 164 votes against. The other candidate, Petr Luchinskiy, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party, earned 160 votes, with 200 against. A simple majority was enough for the election of chairman of parliament.

Mircha Snegur is 50 years of age. He is a Moldavian, born in Moldavia, candidate of agricultural sciences, member of the Communist Party from 1964. He started his career as an agronomist. Later he was chairman of a collective farm and held various posts at which he was responsible for the introduction of new technologies in Moldavia's agriculture.

He has been a party functionary from the early nineties [as received]. In four years he rose from a party leader in one of Moldavia's agrarian districts to secretary of the central committee of the Moldavian Communist Party. At the extraordinary session of the Moldavia's Supreme Soviet (of the previous convocation) in July 1989, Snegur was elected president of the Supreme Soviet presidium.

In his speech before the election, Snegur set out his programme. It is keynoted by the idea of developing Moldavia's sovereignty. Snegur believes that it is only complete independence of the republic in the economy, culture, in the solution of social problems that can guarantee flourishing of the Moldavian people.

The adoption of the republic's new Constitution is another point on the programme of chairman of Moldavia's Supreme Soviet. He proposed that a deputies commission to draft the Constitution be formed at this session.

By making the amendment to the republic's Constitution, the deputies endorsed the new flag of Soviet Moldavia, and in an hour, a tricolor, with colours corresponding to the flag of neighbouring Roamnia, was flying over governmental buildings in the Moldavian capital.

Girenko Visits Kherson Oblast; Economy Discussed

LD2904152490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] From 26 to 29 April, Girenko, CPSU Central Committee secretary, was in Kherson Oblast. During the meetings and conversations with the inhabitants of Kherson Oblast, the progress of perestroyka in the oblast was discussed, and a wide range of issues connected with the democratization of public life, the party renewal and the reforming of the economy was touched upon. The greater part of the tour was devoted to familiarization with the life of the working collectives and party organizations of Genicheskiy Rayon. At the meetings in working collectives and at the meetings of the party and economic aktiv of the rayon, the main attention was devoted to the preparations for the party congress, to the discussion of the drafts of the CPSU platform and the CPSU rules, and the issue of enhancing the authority of grassroot organizations.

Movement Leaders Assess Moldavia's Future

90US0735A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 27 Mar 90 pp 1, 2

[Report on interviews with O. Nantoy, vice chairman of the Moldavian People's Front, and V. Solonar, member of the presidium of the "Yedinstvo" (Unity") Intermovement, by special correspondent A. Morgun: "Moldavia: What Does the Future Hold?"]

[Text] Interest in the events occurring in the country's republics is now high everywhere. What's the news in Lithuania? In Estonia? How are things in Moldavia?

Agonizing over such questions, most of us hurry in the morning to our mailboxes or to the "Soyuzpechat" newsstands. And, having glanced at the latest news, each asks himself a new question: What next, how will events develop in one republic or another? Is it at all possible in a society shaken by historical truth and perestroyka to find that most desired path toward the consolidation of truly democratic forces, a path leading not toward the disintegration of the Union but toward the building of a different, qualitatively new federation of allied socialist republics? Many people are asking: What can be expected tomorrow, is not today's lull a harbinger of a storm which is already gathering and ready to erupt? What do the leaders of the social and political movements confronting one another think about this?

Today the questions of our special correspondent are answered by O. Nantoy, vice chairman of the Moldavian People's Front, and V. Solonar, member of the presidium of the "Yedinstvo" ("Unity") Intermovement from this republic. And although the interview with each was conducted separately, we have considered it possible—for greater contrast—to put the stenographic accounts of these interviews together.

[Morgun] How would you describe the situation which has taken shape now in Moldavia?

[Nantoy] An increasingly large number of supporters of various public formations, their leaders included, understand that the line up to which it was "possible" to stir the atmosphere of confrontation has been reached. Further escalation of tension could only lead to what has come to be called unpredictable consequences. And proceeding from the sorry experience which we already have in other regions of the country, these consequences are, alas, perfectly predictable.

Why have we in the People's Front reached such an understanding of the situation? A little history is needed here. The point being that the painfulness of today's processes has been brought about largely by the change in the public consciousness and the break with the old stereotypes. We used to live subconsciously imbibing ideological dogmas, even if we treated them with irony. The world was simple: With us everything was good, "over the hill" all was bad. With us friendship, with them class hatred. And when people suddenly began to talk openly about their problems, we came up against the fact that for many people this had come as a surprise. Primarily as concerns nationality problems. A sense of disorientation and confusion emerged. If it is considered that our whole preceding history prompts us to seek simple solutions and cliches in the definition of one phenomenon or another and if we consider our society's predisposition to look for an enemy image, it is not hard to imagine what all this could develop into. It is this method—formation of the enemy image—which has come to be persistently exploited in our republic by people whom this very wave of confrontation has carried to the political foreground. And I refer here, what is more, to all movements equally.

The search for an enemy has been conducted on some purely formal basis: national, social, and such like. We have cried: "We are against the party bureaucracy," not giving thought to the fact that Grossu, former first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, as also the leader of perestroyka, Gorbachev, are essentially from the same social group. We have failed to see the individual behind the cliches.

It is also the same with the search for an enemy on national grounds. It has been reiterated repeatedly that a delineation precisely on this basis has occurred in the republic. But this also is a simplistic approach. I know

many Russians who support the People's Front, and many Moldavians who are supporters of that same Intermovement.

I am frequently asked: Have there been manifestations of nationalism in the republic? I answer: Yes, of course. And this has been predetermined, first, by the overall low political culture and, second, by the fact that in any society there are people disposed to extremes. However, the situation now is such that the process of national revival cannot, like the genie, be put back in the bottle. The problem lies elsewhere: Prompting this genie to do not evil but good deeds. And to proceed here from the fact that the process of national revival is an inalienable part of the general democratic process in our country and in our republic.

[Solonar] The situation is indeed calm. But past experience testifies that this apparent stability should not be exaggerated. Any event could change the situation and sharply exacerbate it.

[Morgun] But is this inevitable? After all, the People's Front, "Yedinstvo," and other public organizations have as of this time given clear indication of their readiness for dialogue.

[Solonar] Nonetheless.... It cannot be forgotten that our disagreements with the People's Front are not the disagreements of part of the republic's population of one nationality with another. They are a confrontation of two ideologies: internationalism and national exclusiveness. This is where the contest of the two ideas of the future comes from. The ideology of the People's Front, which is most clearly expressed in the slogan, "In our own home," is the ideology of an exclusive national society. One way or another, it divides people on a nationality basis. And it will therefore always view the fact of the existence of a multinational state as an abnormal phenomenon.

[Morgun] But this slogan could, after all, be understood more calmly also—as a natural reaction to the infringement of the rights of the indigenous population over many decades.

[Solonar] This also, of course. Nonetheless, I believe that the idea whose basis is the determination of the primordial territories on which one people or another have lived and the fact that everyone else on this land has been no more than a guest is fundamentally flawed.

[Morgun] But if this is a small people's fear of disappearing and being dissolved among others?

[Solonar] This concept could be understood, but with the corrective merely that under present conditions this fate does not threaten either Moldavians or the people of the Baltic. All the talk about migration to these republics is now simply not serious. On the contrary, just talk with the Russian-speaking population—they all have just one concern: Leaving here as quickly as possible. So the danger now is not the possibility of the disappearance of one nation and people or another. I see as the danger people's general embitterment toward one another and fear that as a result of all these actions civil peace could collapse. This is really a great danger.

[Nantoy] Nonetheless, for genuine consolidation we lack most what in Estonia is called IME [self-managing Estonia]—in translation, "economic miracle," a model of republic financial autonomy. If we could right away give people a program making it possible in the very near future to improve their living standard which would be reflected in the economy.... If the hearts of our fellow countrymen were softened even slightly against these exhausting lines and shortages, many problems would be solved more effectively. Some positive impetus is essential. And I hope that, having paid tribute to emotions at its first meetings, the newly elected republic Supreme Soviet will be able to move along this path.

[Morgun] What do you think about the People's Front and "Yedinstvo"? Are the ranks of these organizations cohesive, as would appear from the sidelines? And are the barricades which divide you insurmountable?

[Nantoy] The very name—People's Front—makes for a wide spectrum of the political currents and forces which are a part of it. So we cannot speak of total unity of action. Nonetheless, a process is now under way whereby the absolute majority of People's Front supporters recognizes that the sole way to ensure the achievement of some actual goals is through parliamentary work. A calculation based on power pressure and violence would inevitably lead to the fascistization of society and the loss of the hopes of some democratic changes. A warning to many people is the situation in Azerbaijan: A state of emergency is in force in the republic, and there can as yet be no question there, I believe, of any processes of democratization and civilized political dialogue. This has at best been put on hold there. Our People's Front has absolutely no interest in such a development of events. Whence the endeavor being observed currently of certain radicals to structure themselves in an independent movement which is not organizationally a part of the People's Front.

[Solonar] Such slogans as, "Trunk. Station. Russia," and "Russians, clear off!" can often be seen at mass meetings organized by the People's Front. These slogans are in fact the work of extremists, and it would be wrong to link them with the People's Front. But something else should be noted also: The big mistake of the People's Front (and this is, possibly, a consequence of its flawed strategy) is that the front has not once completely dissociated itself from the extremists. In a word, this is still a truly very heterogeneous organization. I am profoundly convinced that there will be a considerable delineation in it after the elections. It is from tactical considerations that they have gone into the elections as a common column, so to speak.

[Morgun] But may not the same be said about "Yedinstvo" also?

[Solonar] It may. We also have various currents, neo-Stalinist included. But basically the groups are moderate and of a consensus persuasion. Such diversity of positions at this stage is a normal phenomenon. After all, both the People's Front and "Yedinstvo" are not the end result of the politicization of society but merely some interim phase of it.

[Morgun] Delineation awaits you also, consequently?

[Solonar] I would not care to discuss this at this point....

[Morgun] How are the movements' relations with the republic Communist Party and its leadership shaping up?

[Solonar] Worse lately than before. Our attitude here is pragmatic: If the Communist Party leadership is capable of stabilizing the situation, we are prepared to support it. And at some stage, it has to be noted, the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee was able to cope with this task. Specifically, many people were impressed by the policy of Grossu, former first secretary of the Central Committee, particularly at the 13th Session of the republic Supreme Soviet, when the Language Act was formulated. It was distinguished by a gravitation toward compromise.

I believe that the present Central Committee leadership has tilted sharply toward the People's Front and even declared this openly—I refer to the interview of P.K. Luchinskiy, the present first secretary, in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, in which he emphasized that the Communist Party had no disagreements with the People's Front in principle.

[Nantoy] Relations with the Moldavian Communist Party are a complex issue for us also. And this is why. After all, the chairman of the Intermovement is a member of the party, the leader of the People's Front is a communist and the United Council of Labor Collectives is also made up of party members without exception. Consequently, we should not speak of the republic's party organization as some more or less structured monolith: Essentially there are within virtually every primary organization representatives of different parties and people of different political persuasions.

Nonetheless, we expect a great deal from the process of renewal of the Communist Party. And as healthy forces consolidate around the party platform and its underlying principles, it may be possible to talk seriously about the People's Front's attitude toward the Communist Party as a whole.

But at the same time I would like to say also that we value highly the activity and readiness for contacts of Petr Kirillovich Luchinskiy. He is one of those communists who have clearly recognized that the Communist Party cannot lag behind the processes occurring in society and that it is necessary to constantly emphasize anticipation of events. It is merely a pity that he has fewer sympathizers than might be wished. A pity because it is the Communist Party which under our conditions could play a more pronounced part both in the stabilization of the situation in the republic and in the creation of the initial impetus for an intensification of constructive processes.

[Morgun] You expect constructive proposals from others.... But does this same constructivism always distinguish the actions of the People's Front itself? Specifically, the program with which you approached the last elections contained a clause on territorial claims on neighboring Ukraine. Were the consequences of such declarations thought through sufficiently seriously?

[Nantoy] A difficult question. According to the USSR Constitution, the borders of a neighboring republic may not be changed without its consent. It may be allowed theoretically that two republics could settle such a problem together and reach agreement. But expecting this today is unrealistic. Stressing a recarving of borders under present conditions is a manifestation of political myopia: Such elemental forces as would sweep away logic, arguments, and reason completely could be switched on here. The sole outcome given such an approach would be the unchecked growth of confrontation.

[Morgun] Consequently, this clause of the program "worked" against the People's Front and evoked distrust in the movement on the part of many people?

[Nantoy] Yes, in this case we deserved it.

[Morgun] Nonetheless, what awaits us tomorrow? Can we view Moldavia's future with, if not optimism, then, with hope?

[Solonar] We stress dialogue. I believe that it is possible. Particularly now, following the elections, when the alignment of forces has been determined. One indispensable condition of such a dialogue is as follows: It is important that the People's Front recognize that the Intermovement is just as natural and necessary a constituent of the republic's political life as other movements. It cannot be excluded, cannot be ignored. If this is understood and recognized, a common language at the negotiating table may perfectly well be found.

But I am profoundly convinced that tranquillity will not come to this land of its own accord. We will all have to do some pretty thorough work for this: the People's Front, "Yedinstvo," the party authorities. A great deal will depend also on the more productive actions of the center. Specifically, we greatly expect of the country's Supreme Soviet the speediest creation of a precisely operating system for the protection of national equality throughout the Union.

[Nantoy] The situation is now such that it is necessary to emphatically abandon the old approaches. All the republic's social and political movements must ponder in earnest their own perestroyka and the assimilation of the

new thinking. Enough of moaning about current difficulties: To have a moral right to a better future it is necessary to join in creative work today even and persistently look for a place to apply one's efforts.

It seems to me that the People's Front is already doing some things in this respect. The office of vice chairman of the People's Front for interethnic relations, which I hold, was instituted quite recently, for example. This decision was brought about by the fact that it is mostly Moldavians who are represented in the People's Front, unfortunately. A manifestly abnormal situation. And I believe that if the People's Front really professes democratic aims and principles, it must emphasize the unification of all progressive, democratic forces of society.

[Morgun] Is there complete unanimity on this matter in the People's Front?

[Nantoy] I would not say so. It has been necessary to explain quite strongly to some people what precisely we understand by a genuinely democratic movement. My point of departure is as follows: A purely national movement cannot by nature be democratic. Association only on a national basis is a serious danger for the future of Moldavia. This is why I evaluate today's situation in the republic with optimism: It affords us an opportunity for useful and constructive dialogue with other movements. And we cannot let this opportunity slip. Otherwise a single outcome—common defeat—awaits all of us—both the People's Front and "Yedinstvo" and the other political forces operating in the republic.

Caucasus

Reportage on Armenia-Nagorno-Karabakh Situation

Intellectuals Send Letter to Gorbachev

NC2904100090 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1800 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] The republican press has published an open letter from a group of Armenian intellectuals to USSR President Gorbachev which says in part:

The free forum which operates under the name of the Armenian Journalists Union and consists of formal and informal popular organizations and various Armenian professional intellectual groups interested in process of restructuring, openness, and the constructive implementation of the rights and freedoms of citizens appeals to you.

The recent news received from Azerbaijan—as confirmed by the letter sent to you by the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] USSR people's deputies and by the oblast's party and soviet leaderships—show that the Azerbaijan leadership is attempting to a effect fundamental change in the demographic situation in the NKAO. By solving the demographic issue through accelerating the pace of settlement in the NKAO under the veil of the state of emergency, the Azerbaijani leadership is currently exerting great efforts to remove the situation in the oblast from the supervision of the center.

Our people learned with indignation that on the day to commemorate the victims of the 1915 Armenian genocide in western Armenia, suppressive measures were taken by the NKAO commandant of the state of emergency against the participants in mourning ceremonies.

We hope that you will take the necessary measures to prevent such acts by the Azerbaijani authorities.

Shots Fired Over Crowd

LD2704161390 Moscow TASS in English 1555 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Stepanakert April 27 TASS—Soviet Interior Ministry troops opened fire above a thousand-strong crowd in Stepanakert last night, after the protesters demanded the release of two detained Armenians.

The crowd gathered in front of the military commandant's headquarters in Nagorno-Karabakh's regional centre yesterday to demand the liberation of the Armenians detained under the Soviet law "On the Juridical Regime of the State of Emergency" for addressing an unauthorised rally in the city on April 24.

Interior Ministry troops used shields to move the crowd away from the square in front of the commandant's headquarters. Stones were hurled at the soldiers. After three servicemen were hurt, the troops opened automatic fire above the crowd.

TASS learned from the commandant's headquarters that five soldiers were injured during the incident. Stepanakert's regional hospital reported that two local policemen and a woman were wounded. One of the city residents sustained a gunshot injury.

An investigation has started. The situation in Stepanakert is fully under control of Soviet Interior Ministry troops and police units.

Workers Protest Azerbaijani Decree

NC2904094890 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1800 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] The newspaper have published a protest sent by a group of leading workers of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] to the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR commission of border supervision, and the procurator general.

The NKAO state authorities and government bodies strongly protest the flagrantly illegal decree of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium of 21 April 1990 on changes in the administrative-territorial divisions of Askeraniskiy, Gadruytskiy, Martakertskiy, and Martuniskiy and Stepanakert City.

This decree once again proves that the Azerbaijani leadership is systematically continuing to trample on the NKAO's sovereign rights and policies. It is harshly interfering in the NKAO's affairs and suppressing constitutional rights and norms. This decree represent a unilateral decision on the formation of nine new village councils, one city within the jurisdiction of the oblast, and one town council.

Therefore, we must state that the decree is a provocation. It harms the NKAO's sovereignty. It further deepens the crisis in interethnic relations in the NKAO and has no authority inside the oblast. Such acts will have unforeseen consequences, responsibility for which will rest on the shoulders of the leadership of Azerbaijan and the country.

Rallies Protest Changes

LD2904102790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] In connection with the latest events in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], the sociopolitical situation has been sharply exacerbated in the whole of Armenia. Here is our correspondent Koryun Khumaryan:

[Khumaryan] At first Yerevan was inundated with rumors. And since the news media were silent—indeed, the republican newspapers could not tell their readers anything even if they had wanted to if only because they were not printed simply because of a newsprint shortage—the rumors snowballed and acquired additional details as they spread. On the evening of 27 April, what looked like over 100,000 people gathered for a rally on Theater Square in Yerevan called by the Armenian National Movement. Movement representatives placed full responsibility for the escalation of tension in Stepanakert on the Azerbaijani leadership and the command of the state of emergency region [rayon chrezvychaynogo polozheniya], and demanded the immediate convocation of an extraordinary session of the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet.

It was only yesterday that the republican newspapers, which incidentally, came out in a very limited print-run just for retail trade carried a certain amount of official material which threw light on the events in the NKAO. The newspapers printed a protest from the chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies and the chairmen of the Stepanakert town and five NKAO rayon soviets, concerning a deliberately unlawful decree adopted by the Azerbaijani SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 21 April 1990 on individual changes to the administrative-territorial division of Askeranskiy, Gadrutskiy, Mardakertskiy, and Martuninskiy Rayons and the town of Stepanakert in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. Such actions, the protest says, pursue the goal of swiftly altering the demographic situation in the Armenian autonomous oblast [as heard] to ensure that there will be no fear of referendums and that there will be nothing left of the autonomous area but the name.

An open letter to USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, signed by members of the Free Tribune acting under the aegis of the republican Union of Journalists was also made public yesterday. It says: In pursuing the task of the accelerated demographic colonization of the NKAO under cover of the state of emergency [chrezvychaynoye polozheniye], the Azerbaijani leadership is making a great effort to take the situation in the NKAO out of the center's control. The upsetting of the NKAO's established ethnic make-up is directly at odds with the 28 November 1989 USSR Supreme Soviet decsion and is giving rise to the Armenian people's just anger and provoking actions to destabilize the situation. We consider it appropriate, the document concludes, for the cases of gross violation of the rights and freedoms of the Armenian majority in the NKAO, as laid down in all-union legislation, to become the subject of deliberation in the Presidential Council.

Many thousands of people attended another rally on Yerevan's Theater Square last night. Its participants repeatedly demanded the immediate convocation of an extraordinary session of the republican parliament and the adoption of specific steps against the further escalation of tension in the NKAO. And late at night it was announced that an extraordinary session would be held today. It is to begin at 1400 local time. Evidently this will be the last session of the 11th convocation. It has difficult work cut out for it and will have to adopt hard but vitally important decisions.

Situation Worsening

LD2904211390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] Of late the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh has unfortunately worsened. We have asked our correspondents in Baku and Yerevan to outline the situation. Over to our correspondent in Azerbaijan, Islam Kuliyev.

[Begin recording] [Kuliyev] For violating the USSR law on the legal regime of a state of emergency, five residents of Stepanakert were prosecuted on 26 April. Among them were the writer (?Begloryan) and (?Grigoryan), a teacher at Stepanakert Pedagogical Institute, who were detained for 15 days. (?Balayan), a teacher at the same college, faculty head (?Khanyan), a writer (?Gavrilyan) were each fined R1,000 for fomenting ethnic discord and for organizing and holding an unauthorized meeting. The same evening, a crowd of persons of Armenian nationality gathered outside the Military Procuracy building and attempted to free the arrested men by force. As a result of the incident, five servicemen recieved injuries of varying severity. Two members of the city militia and a woman were among the victims, and a resident of the city suffered gunshot wounds.

A decree of the Republican Supreme Soviet Presidium, making partial changes to the administrative-territorial divisions of certain rayons of the oblast and of the city of Stepanakert, has had a hostile reception. I asked (?Nizami Segeyevich Sadykov), head of the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium Secretariat, to comment on these measures.

[Sadykov] A considerable proportion of the Azerbaijani population from certain places of mixed Azerbaijani and Armenian population, and from certain villages with a purely Azerbaijani population, were driven out of their places of permanent residence. Some of them moved to other places with Azerbaijani population, and some left Nagorno Karabakh altogether. That is the first point. The second point is that in 1988 and a little earlier, the former party and soviet leadership of the oblast carried out an illegal act by fragmenting some centers of population— some soviets, rather—on purely ethnic grounds. That violation occurred, but because of events in the intervening two years it has been impossible to settle these matters and bring them into line with the administrative divisions of the republic as a whole.

The third important point is that, as the Azerbaijanis found themselves cut off from the soviets and found themselves in general in a situation in which they were unable to settle any of their concerns—economic or social—and therefore the need arose to carry our there partial changes to the administrative-territorial divisions of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. Why have these matters today been decided by bypassing the local authorities? Well, we know that by a decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 13 January 1989, the work of the oblast soviet was suspended. Now the full extent of state power and executive power in the territory of the oblast is being exercised by the republican organizing committee for the NKAO. The Council of Ministers has prepared all the necessary materials and submitted them to the Supreme Soviet Presidium. [end recording]

Armenian Supreme Soviet Meets

LD2904221790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet has opened in Yerevan. Our correspondent Karim Kumaryan reports:

[Kumaryan] There is only one matter on the agenda: the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and Armenia. But this issue is so complex, so weighed down with the burden of almost two and a half years of confrontation, and has to such an extent been brought to extremity, that any wrong decision, any rash step, any delay or any haste, could have irreversible and possibly dramatic consequences.

The session began with a report by Grigoriy Grigoryan, Armenian deputy minister of internal affairs, on the situation in the republic and another by a (?Zorya Balayan), USSR people's deputy for Nagorno-Karabakh, who is just back from Stepanakert. Despite the outward calm, the atmosphere in the republic is extremely tense because of the latest events in the NKAO, where, as many of today's speakers at the session emphasized, the Azerbaijani leadership is attempting to use the special situation regime to urgently alter the demographic situation in the oblast so that no future referendums can influence the Nagorno-Karabakh issue in the direction of favoring self-determination.

Every day in Stepanakert and other centers of population, an appeal to the Armenian population is being relayed dozens of times, calling on them to submit to the leadership of Azerbaijan or leave Nagorno-Karabakh. And all this is being done from military armored vehicles and from military broadcasting stations. The residents of Karabakh and Armenia regard as insulting the deliberately illegal decree recently passed by the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet on partial changes to the administrative-territorial divisions of the NKAO.

Now, while you are listening to my report, heated debates are going on in the Supreme Soviet and a final document is being worked on. What will it say? How much closer will it bring us to a just settlement of the Karabakh problem? These are the questions being asked today by all the inhabitants of Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh.

Armenians Concerned Over Azerbaijan Move

LD3004014790 Moscow TASS in English 2242 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] Yerevan April 30 ARMENPRESS-TASS—An extraordinary session of the Armenian parliament opened on Sunday to discuss the aggravation of the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region following the adoption by on April 21 by the Presidium of the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet of a decree on partial changes in the administrative territorial division of a number of rural districts of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region and the city of Stepanakert.

Deputies voiced serious concern over the decree which they regarded as infringing on the rights of the Armenian population of the autonomous region. They also said that the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh requires the immediate unblocking of the Goris-Lachin-Stepanakert motor road and the resumption of regular flights to Armenia.

First Secretary of the Republic Communist Party Central Committee Vladimir Movsisyan addressed the session.

Azerbaijan Pins Blame for 'Political Crisis'

LD2804160990 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan has recognized as unsatisfactory the

activity of party, government, economic, and law enforcement agencies of the republic. It said that they had led to a political crisis and destablized the economy. The local press says that the official agencies failed to prevent mass riots and house-to-house attacks last January, which led to the loss of human lives. In that connection many officials in the capital of the republic Baku were dismissed or reprimanded.

Measures to Aid Transcaucasus Refugees Adopted

LD2904094190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0836 GMT 29 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow, 29 Apr (TASS)—A decision just adopted by the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures for Rendering Assistance to Citizens Compelled to Leave the Azerbaijani SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and the Armenian SSR will considerably alleviate the position of refugees. Reporting this decision, the latest issue of "PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK" [Government Herald] writes that the document solves the major problem of compensating refugees for material loss.

The government has decided that loss is to be reimbursed by the republic in which the refugee's abandoned residence is located. The sum paid to reimburse the loss or to buy up one apartment or house must be no less than R7,000. The document sets no upper limit.

To help the refugees settle down in their new location, the state will give them a sum of money to build or purchase houses or apartments at the rate of R210 per square metre of living space, with a maximum of 16 metres [as received] for each person.

The government decision also stipulates compensation payments for loss of household goods, orchards, livestock, etc. Specific sums have been set for such compensation. A single person, for instance, will receive R12,000 in compensation for such losses.

The issue of restoring documents to those who lost them or were forced to abandon them has also been resolved. They will be issued to citizens by Ministry of Internal Affairs bodies.

Georgian Public Shuts Down Nuclear Reactor

LD2704153890 Moscow TASS in English 1526 GMT 27 Apr 90

[By TASS correspondent Kote Tskhomelidze]

[Text] Tbilisi April 27 TASS—The Physics Institute of the Georgian Republic's Academy of Sciences, Transcaucasia, has shut down its nuclear reactor and begun to dismantle it. The decision was made at the demand of the Georgian public.

The reactor operated in a densely populated area nearby Mtskheta, Georgia's ancient capital rich in cultural monuments.

Over the past three decades, the reactor helped Georgian physicists carry out some important studies to develop a new generation of structural materials.

The institute has actually fulfilled its task as the USSR's main organisation engaged in low-temperature radiation materials science.

Scientists stopped using the reactor for scientific experiments two years ago. Although it has not caused any harm, people regarded the reactor as a potential danger to the environment.

Central Asia

Reportage on Kazakh Supreme Soviet Session

14 May Assembly Planned

LD2804103590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 28 Apr 90

[Text] Yesterday, we received reports on the completion of work by the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, of the new convocation. During the April stage of their activities, deputies adopted a draft law on the standing commissions and committees of the Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet and considered a number of other issues. It was decided to assemble for the session in Alma-Ata on 14 May.

First Phase Ends Work

LD2804182790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 28 Apr 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Our correspondent in Alma-Ata reports that the first phase of a session of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet has ended.

[D. Baimbetov, identified from screen caption] The session's proceedings were packed to the limit, but even with such a tight schedule the session failed to adopt decisions on all the issues on the agenda. For example, one of the most important issues for Kazakhstan and its residents—about the future of the Semipalatinsk nuclear testing ground—was postponed until 14 May, when the deputies will assemble again to continue work.

However, the first phase of the session was productive. The first decree by the president of the republic, who was elected at the session, has been published. It is a decree on additional benefits for invalids, participants in the Great Patriotic War, internationalist soldiers, and the families of dead servicemen. As you see, Kazakhstan residents can already feel the results of the session's work. [video shows proceedings, Baimbetov speaking]

Support Urged for 'Existing Laws'

PM3004085590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Own Correspondents V. Ardayev and E. Matskevich report: "Appeal Adopted"]

[Text] A session of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet has adopted an appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet, the union republic Supreme Soviets, and all soviets of USSR people's deputies to defend perestroyka and protect our state's unity and territorial integrity.

We urge all deputies, the appeal says, to be deeply aware of their responsibility for the future of the Soviet federation which is undergoing renewal, for the strengthening of our union, and for the improvement of the moral and political atmosphere in the country. Only calm, rational work, within the bounds of the law, in all spheres of life will bring us to the goal which meets the vital interests of all nations and will give new breath to our great, multinational community. We are convinced that all the problems of the economic, social, and national-cultural development of all regions of the country must be resolved exclusively on the basis of the USSR Constitution, the republic constitutions, and the existing laws. We urge you to use all your authority and powers to stabilize the situation in our common home and protect the life, honor, and dignity of every Soviet person. The Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet for its part will adhere strictly to these principles in the interests of perestroyka and of all the Soviet people. That is our open and honest line. That is the choice of the Kazakh people and all the peoples of the republic....

Strike Leaders To Work Within Trade Unions

PM2704125990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent Oleg Stefashin: "Strike Committee Conquers Trade Unions"]

[Text] Karaganda—Having gained a convincing victory at the elections, the leaders of the oblast strike movement have assumed key posts in the trade unions.

Miner M. Ramazanov, who ran for the post of deputy chairman of the republic's biggest oblast trade union council, obtained a decisive majority at the oblast trade union council plenum. Then P. Shlegel, formerly head of the oblast workers committee, was elected chairman of the miners' territorial trade union committee at its conference.

The participation of the miners' leaders in the election campaign bewildered many people. In fact, until recently the strike committees publicly expressed distrust of the trade unions, which, it was noted, had completely discredited themselves. How is one to view recent events?

The answer to this question was provided by P. Shlegel. In his view, the workers committee's powers are now severely restricted and it is only monitoring implementation of government resolution No. 608. "By conquering the trade unions and giving them back their original purpose, we will achieve far more than by being in opposition to them," P. Shlegel reckons.

At the same time, the majority of miners still want to establish an independent, intersectoral "Union of Working People" movement. No one knows at the moment whether it would be an alternative to the current trade unions in the oblast or join them in a coalition. Obviously the answer will be given by the constituent conference, which the workers' committee intends to convene in the very near future.